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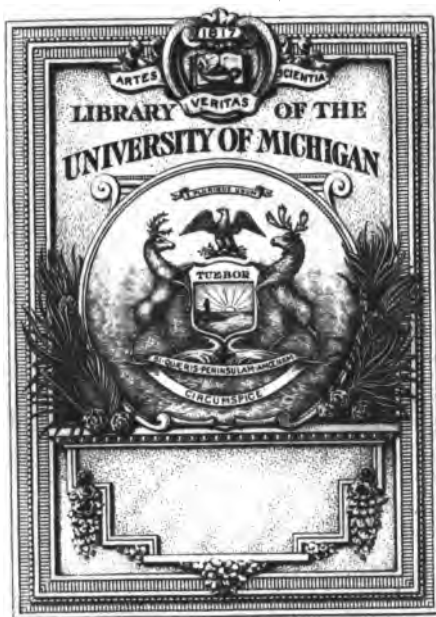
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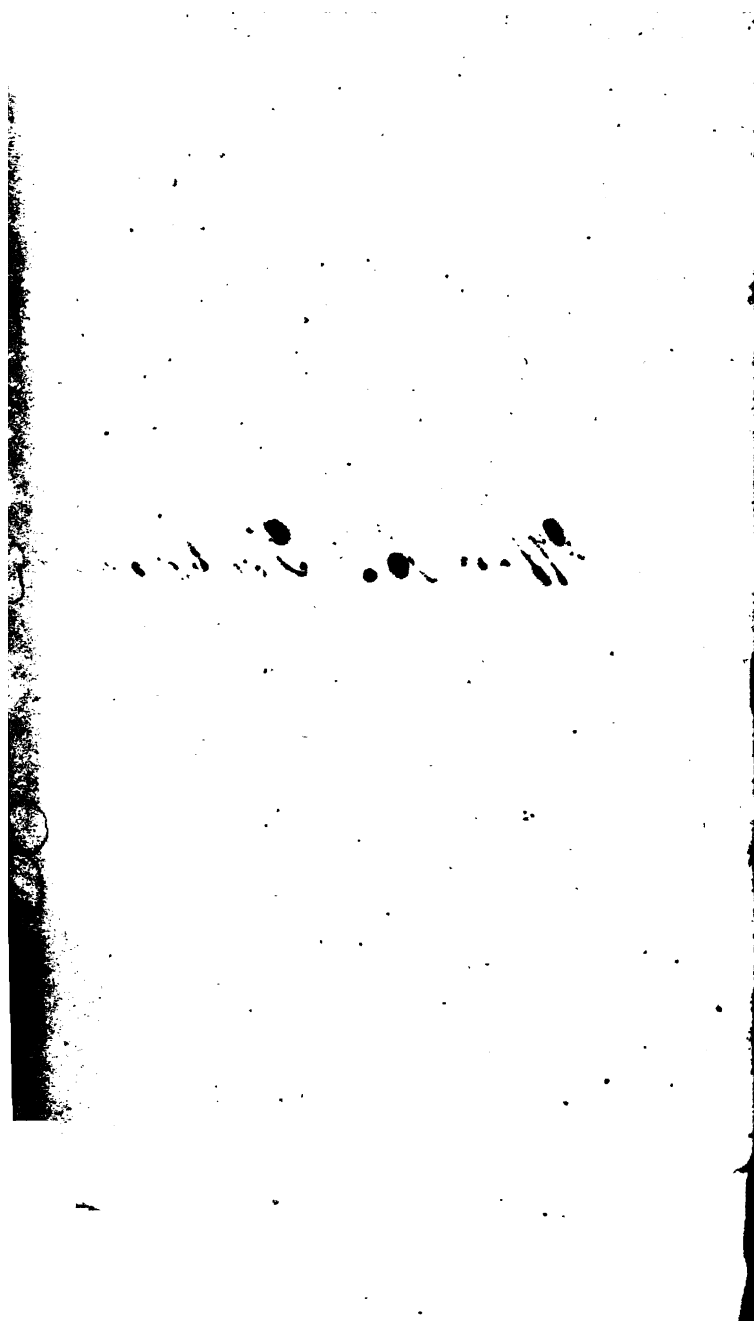


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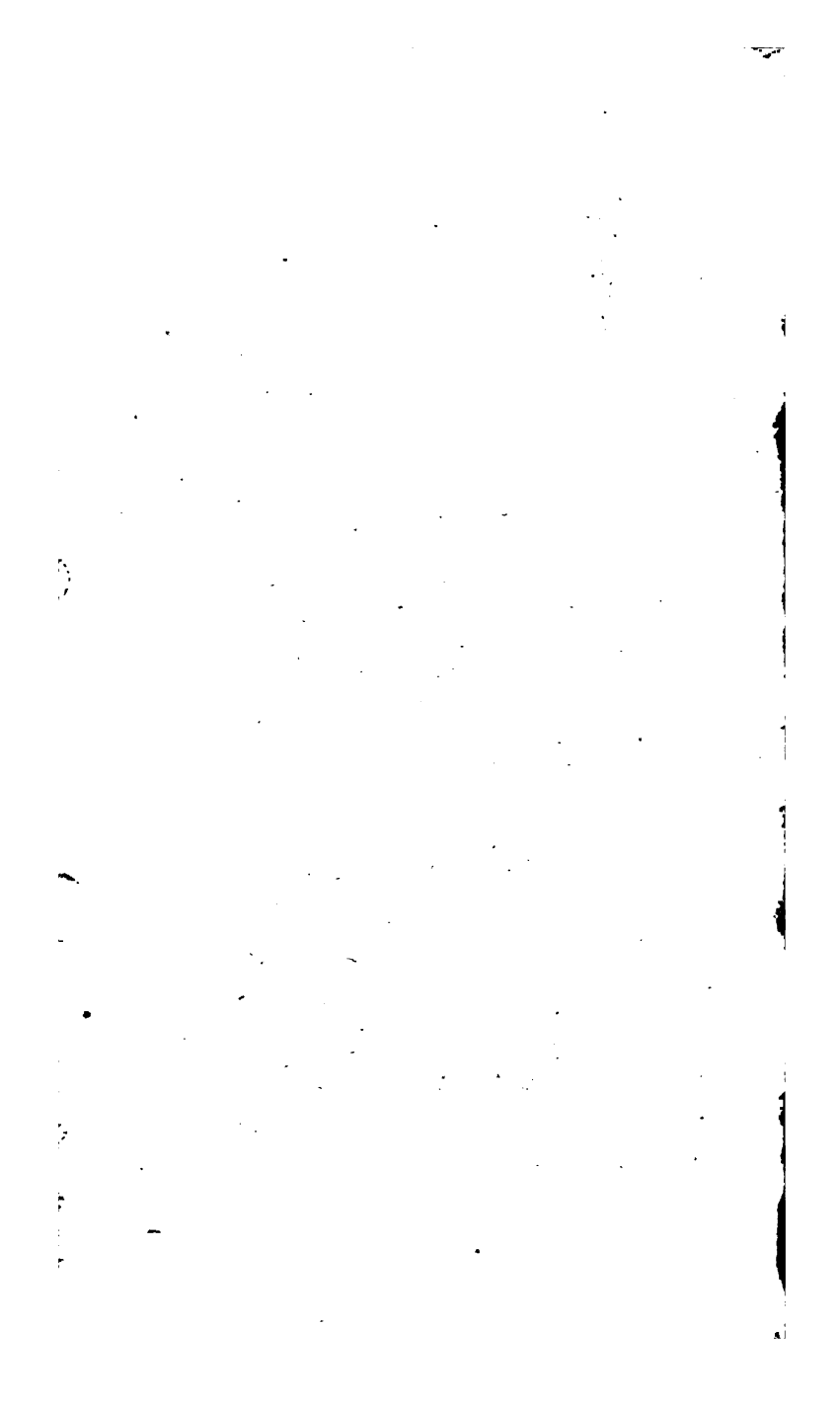


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VOL. IV.

**MEMOIRS OF
GEORGE WHITEHEAD;
AND AN
ACCOUNT OF RICHARD DAVIES.**

TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II.



MEMOIRS
OF
GEORGE WHITEHEAD;

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL
IN THE
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS:
BEING THE SUBSTANCE
Of the
ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,
And published after his decease, in the year 1725.

UNDER THE TITLE OF
“**His Christian Progress;**”
WITH
AN APPENDIX,
CONTAINING A SELECTION FROM HIS OTHER WORKS.

ALSO
INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

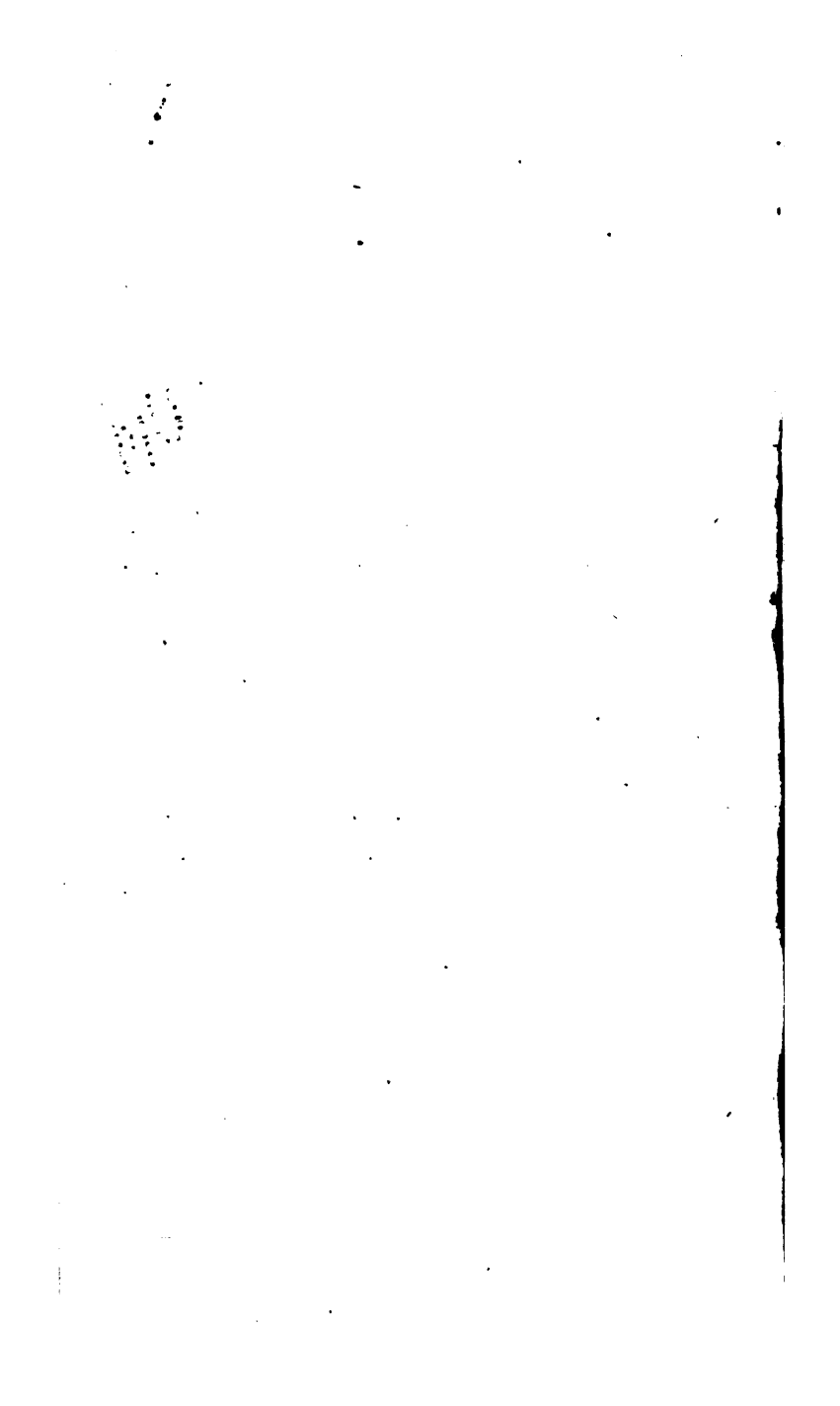
BY **SAMUEL TUKE.**

IN TWO VOLS.—VOL. II.

“If ye had known what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless.”

Philadelphia:
NATHAN KITE—64 WALNUT STREET.

1832.



2008-03-01

OF

VOLUME THE SECOND.

The parliament express to the king their dissatisfaction with his declaration.—Persecution renewed in 1673.—The case of Friends presented to the king in 1679.—George Whitehead and T. Burr imprisoned in Norwich in 1680, and proceedings of the quarter sessions.—Their manly and Christian defence on their trial.

George Whitehead and Thomas Burr re-conveyed to prison—released at the next quarter sessions.—Distinction between the refusal of Friends to take the oath and that of the Papists.—Change in the sentiments of parliament respecting the persecution of dissenting protestants.—Bills for the relief of dissenters.—Character of informers.—Petition to the king.—A discourse with him.—G. Whitehead labours in the ministry and shares in the sufferings of his Friends.

Sufferings of Friends confined in Norwich, and endeavours for their release.—Persecution very severe.—G. Whitehead suffers by severe restraints in 1683—Sufferings of Friends in London, and George Whitehead imprisoned in Newgate, 1684. 65

Suffering state of the Society at the death of Charles II.—Representation of it by an interview with king James II. and address to him.—List of the sufferers.—Second interview with the king, and full representation of the Quakers' case addressed to him and to the parliament.—The king grants a general warrant for the release of the prisoners.—Commission granted on George Whitehead's application to the king to inquire into the dishonest practices of the informers.—Their suppression.—One of them in distress applies to George Whitehead, and is relieved by him. 82

The state of Society in other parts of the nation.—Two meeting

houses seized and used by the soldiers.—Application to king James respecting this and other cases of suffering. 99

SECTION XVIII.

Proceedings in the reign of William and Mary—Respecting the act of toleration.—The case of Friends suffering for contempts, &c.—The obtaining of an act for the admission of the solemn affirmation of Friends instead of an oath. 113

SECTION XIX.

Brief notice of George Whitehead's further services. 142

APPENDIX. 149

A Christian Epistle to Friends in general. 151

The people called Quakers truly represented, and vindicated from some mistakes in the Lower House of Convocation, &c. &c. 165

The Christian Doctrine and Society of the people called Quakers, &c. &c. 187

MEMOIRS, &c.

SECTION XIII.

The Parliament express to the king their dissatisfaction with his declaration.—Persecution renewed in 1673.—The case of Friends presented to the king in 1679.—George Whitehead and T. Barr imprisoned in Norwich in 1680, and proceedings of the quarter sessions.—Their manly and Christian defence on their trial.

The liberty granted to tender consciences by king Charles the Second's declaration, 1671–2, held not long; for the Parliament being not reconciled to the liberty granted and allowed thereby, took occasion against the said declaration, and moved the king to cancel and make it void; alleging that thereby he extended his prerogative too far, or advanced it above the law, by suspending the execution of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical; suggesting what dangerous consequence it might be of, to have such a precedent remaining. But they took no care of Christ's prerogative and government over the consciences of his subjects: they must be exposed to severe sufferings, oppressions, and cruelty, for conscience' sake towards Him, and for obeying his doctrine, chiefly in refusing to swear at all, and for solemnly meeting together in his name and spiritual worship.

If the Parliament and all parties who were displeased with the king's said declaration, because not an act of Parliament but of prerogative, had been so generous and noble as to have allowed a general liberty to tender consciences, or freedom from persecution, they might

easily have turned the substance or effect of the king's said declaration into an act of Parliament. And no doubt the king would readily have signed and confirmed the same, seeing he had so often not only publicly promised liberty to tender consciences, but also in his declaration from Breda positively and voluntarily promised, "That no man shall be disquieted or called in question, for differences in opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence."

And moreover, in the king's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, dated October the 25th, 1660, it is again declared: "In a word, we do again renew what we have formerly said in our declaration from Breda, for the liberty of tender consciences: that no man shall be disquieted or called in question, for differences in opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, &c."

And in the same declaration it is further said: "Our present consideration and work is, to gratify the private consciences of those who are grieved with the use of ceremonies, by indulging to, and dispensing with, the omitting these ceremonies."

And in the king's speech to both houses of Parliament, the 8th of July, 1661: "It is to put myself in mind as well as you, that I so often (I think so often as I come to you) mention to you my declaration from Breda; and let me put you in mind of another declaration published by yourselves about the same time, and which I am persuaded made mine the more effectual. An honest, generous, and Christian declaration, signed by the most eminent persons who had been the most eminent sufferers; in which you renounced all former animosities, and the memory of all former unkindnesses. And, my lords and gentlemen, let it be in no man's power, to charge me or you with the breach of our words or promises, which can never be a good ingredient

to our future security." And in the chancellor's speech to both houses, May the 8th: "He told you but now, (meaning the king,) that he valued himself much upon keeping his word, upon performing all that he promiseth to his people."*

Now upon the whole it is observable, that when the king made and so often repeated those promises of liberty to tender consciences, there appeared no design of persecution, or intention thereof, to violate his promises, but the contrary, but how easy it might have been, to have established that liberty by a law: but too many selfish and partial men were otherwise minded; for before the reign of king Charles the Second was expired, some of these who were against his declaration aforesaid, would have had an "act of comprehension," to have included in the Church of England some parties of dissenters, as Presbyterians and such like, with allowances, exceptions, or limitations, so as not to be made conformable to the said Church, in all her articles, ceremonies, and formalities, but to have been dispensed with, or allowed in some things not esteemed essential; so as they might be comprehended or incorporated into one with the Church of England, exclusive of all other dissenters, more conscientious than themselves were in that point, since they could not come so near in a conformity or compliance as themselves; and therefore the most conscientious dissenters of all sorts, excluded the comprehension and not allowed a general liberty to exercise their religion and conscience, must still be exposed to persecution, suffering, and ruin, under the penal laws, if that partial project and comprehension had taken effect, by a church made up of presbytery and episcopacy: Oh then, who should have been suffer-

* George Whitehead's loyalty, and faith in the king's word appear to have been inextinguishable.

It is probable that his acquaintance with William Penn, who appears to have taken the most favourable view of the king's conduct as well as that of the duke of York, had considerable influence on George Whitehead.

Editor.

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I discoursed with divers of them about
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noted for their zeal in respect to their solemn
and covenant against prelacy or episcopacy, and
ding some greater reformation, deserted those
s and places where they had been so noted for
real and reformation, &c. and removed into other

counties and places, some southward and some north, where they were not so known, and could more easily conform for a church living, and there put on the surplice, sign infants with the sign of the cross, bow to the high altar, conform to all the ceremonies of their church, and plead decency and good order in them all; which before were but superstitious relics of popery, and altogether indecent in God's worship.

Yet to do the party right; some ministers and people were more conscientious than to allow of such an occasional conformity for lucre's sake; and indeed many could not obtain parish church livings if they would, where there remained some old Episcopal clergymen who had claim to the livings, having been formerly turned out of the same; so that those who could not conform on such occasions, nor obtain parish maintenance, were fain to keep private meetings, termed conventicles, as long as they could or durst; for few of them would suffer for their religion, but rather privily slide away or flee out at back doors, rather than be seized or taken by the persecutors; though many of the Baptists suffered imprisonment at first. But the heat of the day, the burden of suffering and persecution, chiefly arose and fell upon us the poor Quakers; for when we were not suffered to meet quietly in our public meeting-houses, but many of us were violently haled out to prison, and the rest by force turned out and kept in the street; there have we stood and kept our meetings without doors, both when turned out and when officers were set on purpose to keep us wholly out in the streets; where we have often met and stood, both in winter and summer and all weathers, as near our own meeting-houses as we could get, and there waited upon the Lord our God, in testimony against our injurious, hard-hearted persecutors; insomuch that some of the other dissenters, who durst not meet publicly, have thanked God that He had enabled the Quakers to stand in the gap, and bear the brunt, and keep the blow off them.

ed to stand before them, without conformity to such elders and bishops! This partial project and selfish design divers of us were concerned in conscience to oppose, argue, and testify against, to certain members of Parliament concerned for such a comprehension, and others also.

I remember I discoursed with divers of them about it, showing them wherein they gave away the cause of all the most honest and conscientious dissenters, and thereby greatly lost ground, &c.

It was well that project of such a comprehension did not take effect, there was doubtless a Divine Hand and Providence in its prevention. And would it not have gone hard and sore against the grain, with the high Episcopal clergy, if Presbyterian ministers, &c. had partaken with them, and been made sharers in their parish churches and livings, tithes and glebe lands, oblations and obventions, profits and revenues, wherein they were formerly paramount, and chiefly if not wholly invested for the space of twelve years or above, until the year 1660, and that the act of uniformity came to be in force; and then Presbytery must give way to Episcopacy, and lay down church revenues or else conform; whereupon many great Presbyterian ministers did conform with such pretences as these—they must not lay aside preaching the Gospel, for want of conforming or dispensing with a few ceremonies, which are but things indifferent and inconsiderable: their great livings, tithes, oblations, and profits, were to them far more considerable.

In the mean while, their solemn league and covenant against Episcopacy, &c. was not well considered or thought on by such occasional conformists; yet some of them who were of the more zealous presbytery, having been noted for their zeal in respect to their solemn league and covenant against prelacy or episcopacy, and pretending some greater reformation, deserted those counties and places where they had been so noted for their zeal and reformation, &c. and removed into other

counties and places, some southward and some north, where they were not so known, and could more easily conform for a church living, and there put on the surplice, sign infants with the sign of the cross, bow to the high altar, conform to all the ceremonies of their church, and plead decency and good order in them all; which before were but superstitious relics of popery, and altogether indecent in God's worship.

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The king being prevailed upon in a short time, I think about two years, to cancel or vacate his aforesaid indulgence to tender consciences; some persecutors began to appear again, and a new persecution arose in divers places, where they picked up Friends who bore public testimony to Truth; and yet for some time after, we could travel quietly and visit our meetings in many counties. But the old and chief snare which our great persecutors were ready to make use of against us, was the oath of allegiance, knowing that we could not swear in any case, either for the king or for ourselves; though we sincerely practised and performed just allegiance toward him, as true and faithful subjects, giving Cæsar his due and to God his due, the things that are truly His; namely, his worship and service according to our conscientious persuasion in matters of faith and religion; rather laying down our bodies as the street to be trod upon, than subjecting our souls for our persecutors to go over them; and when they could not go over our souls, nor make them yield and bow to their corrupt wills and impositions, then would they hunt us out, to apprehend and confine our bodies in prisons and jails.

In the 10th month, 1673, our dear Friends and brethren, George Fox and Thomas Lower were apprehended; being at a Friend's house in Worcestershire, and on their journey towards their habitations in Lancashire, but were obstructed and committed to prison at Worcester, by warrant from one Henry Parker, justice of peace, and detained prisoners a considerable time. The injustice and illegality done against them. is farther related and detected in George Fox's journal.

After George Fox had long remained prisoner at Worcester, Thomas Moor and I went to the king at Hampton court, and requested his liberty out of prison. Though the king gave us little answer, yet after some time the Lord made way for George Fox's release.

This imprisonment I have mentioned, that it may appear how early the invidious persecutors fell to work,

after the king's declaration as aforesaid. The persecutors being let loose again, the several ways of persecution were renewed against us, the people called Quakers; as, for not swearing allegiance, the penalty was imprisonment and premunire; for not going to parish church, so called, twenty pounds a month, or two thirds of a person's estate, forfeited and seized on exchequer process, or excommunication, and writs *de excommunicato capiendo*, issued out to take and imprison the persons excommunicated. And for our innocent religious meetings, great spoil was made upon our goods; they being taken and torn away by a company of loose, idle informers, who cared not what havoc and spoil they made upon us, nor how much they ruined honest, industrious families; besides the many hard and tedious imprisonments which many of us underwent, both before and after the before-mentioned declaration of indulgence.

Because of these our sufferings on divers sorts of prosecutions and processes before hinted, application was often made to the king, and sometimes to the judges before they went their several circuits, for some redress and relief from those hardships and severe sufferings; and great endeavours were used at least, to make the king and his ministers sensible thereof, according to the following brief accounts and intimations, viz.

“To the King's Justices, appointed for the several circuits throughout England.

“Many of our Friends, called Quakers, being continued prisoners, and many prosecuted to great spoil by informers, and on *qui-tam* writs, and by presentments and indictments for twenty pounds per mensem, in divers counties throughout England, only on the account of religion and tender conscience toward Almighty God; we esteem it our Christian duty to remind you of their suffering condition, as we have done from time to time.

“Humbly entreating you, in the circuits to enquire

into the several causes of their commitments, and other sufferings which they lie under, and to extend what favour you can to them for their ease and relief. Praying the Almighty to direct and preserve you; we are,
“Your Christian friends and well-wishers.”

But we found little redress from the judges in those days, after divers applications to them; except when the king gave them some instructions thereunto; for which end we sometimes applied to the king to stay proceedings against our Friends: whereupon he showed some compassion towards the sufferers. Their case was presented to him in manner following.

TO THE KING.

“The case of the people called Quakers, who are still sufferers by prosecutions upon old statutes made against Popish recusants.”

Presented to the king by George Whitehead, William Mead, and John Osgood, the 16th of the 11th month, 1679. Being introduced by William Chiffins, Esq. closet keeper to the king, as he had given leave and appointed.

After a brief introductory speech to the king, by George Whitehead, the following case was presented and read, viz.

“It may be remembered, that about two years last past, our case of sufferings was represented before the king and his privy council, that is, the late and unwonted prosecutions upon the statutes of the 23rd and 28th of Queen Elizabeth, made against Popish Recusants; by colour whereof, and of the statute of the 3rd of king James, two-thirds of our lands, tenements, hereditaments, leases, and farms, for two or three years then last past, were seized into the king's hands; and process made out of his exchequer twice yearly, to collect

the rents and profits thereof, for which the bailiffs seldom take less than double; their distresses frequently amounting to more than the yearly value of the whole estates. The king was then pleased to express his sense of the unreasonableness of such persecution, saying, 'It was hard we should suffer by laws made against us, and also by those laws never made or designed against us.' But the Parliament being then sitting, the king referred us to them, as the more proper place for an effectual redress.

"In obedience whereunto we made our application to the House of Commons, who, by a committee, then examined, by witnesses and records, the justness and reasonableness of our complaints, and had true resentments thereof; but before they could yield us any relief, they were prorogued and soon after dissolved.

"We also represented our case to the succeeding Parliament, who for our relief were pleased to insert a clause in a bill then before them, to distinguish betwixt Papists and Protestants, which would have tended to redress our grievance. But the king also proroguing that Parliament before the said bill had past its last customary reading in the upper house, we are still left under the said heavy pressures.

"Now although the most effectual redress of these present and future prosecutions, as the king has directed, would be by act of parliament; yet it being so, that the king has power by law to grant a stay or cessation of processes, which are made out to collect the fines, and profits levied upon our estates, that is, the forfeitures being made to the king:

"We therefore, in true Christian humility, desire, that the king will be pleased to grant a present stay or cessation of process; until we can have a more effectual redress in a parliamentary way."

The king received this case with a list of the sufferers, that is, of our Friends under prosecution; and he was pleased to give this answer, viz. "That it is very

unreasonable you should thus suffer by laws that were never intended against you ; I am against persecution or persecuting any for conscience, and I shall consider of your case and afford you what relief I can ; I will advise with my lord chancellor and attorney general about it, what way I may do it," &c. That is, what we requested, that he would please to give order to put a stop to process against us in the exchequer, &c.

The king farther told us ; " that it should be moved the next council day ; he would remember it, and Shephard should give us notice." He being a noted sort of a witty person and courtier, who much attended the king and was intimate with him.

We were sensible that the king at that time, as I have known him at several others, was touched in his conscience, and somewhat tenderly affected with the extremity and long continuance of those great sufferings upon our Friends in this and other cases ; but some persons near him were not our friends and had too much influence upon him, whereby his good inclinations against persecution, and for liberty of conscience, as well as his promises for the same, were many times frustrated ; and our suffering heavy pressures and troubles by persecutions, were in great measure continued under his reign till his days were ended.

And though our solicitations did not at all times take the effect desired, yet I had this secret encouragement to move betimes in a good cause, and to pursue the same so far as I could, believing that if it was for some time delayed or rejected, it would in the Lord's time take effect ; and if at any time we did not receive present gain, that we should not lose by early moving in and following a just cause. For many times when we have laboured under severe persecutions and confinements, &c. we have often called for justice when we could not have it ; yet thereby we have cleared our consciences and had the more inward peace, believing that the just God would appear for us if men would not hear us. And our God has often manifestly pleaded

our cause, and vindicated our innocency in diverse respects; both in men's consciences and in removing our implacable persecutors, when they have filled up their measures.

George Whitehead did not escape a share in the renewed sufferings of the Society, which arose from the cancelling of the king's order. In the year 1680 he visited the city of Norwich; and meeting there unexpectedly with his friend Thomas Burr, a fellow minister, they thought it right to attend the meeting of their Friends on the first day of the week, although they understood it was not unlikely to be disturbed.

The meeting in the morning was held peaceably; but in the afternoon, whilst George Whitehead was preaching to the people, a number of informers rushed into the meeting; making a great noise, and endeavouring to push their way to George Whitehead to pull him down.

The people however it seems did not allow them to pass; and George Whitehead desired to know whether they had any legal authority for their proceedings. They refused to give him any satisfaction on this point; but insinuated that he might be a Jesuit, and demanded the names of the strangers. With this demand George Whitehead immediately complied, for the satisfaction of the people; and after disturbing the meeting as much as they could, the informers thought proper to retire. Soon, however, one of the sheriffs of the city made his appearance; and the people making way for him, he required the two Friends to follow him; and accompanied by the informers, conducted the unresisting prisoners to gaol.

In about two hours they were summoned to appear before the recorder; and on being brought into his room, they found the priest of the parish along with him, who during the examination evinced no friendly spirit towards them. The recorder apparently suspecting them of being popish emissaries, questioned them closely as

to whether they had orders from Rome ; to which they gave a plain denial, declaring in the most solemn manner their abhorrence of popery.

He then questioned them about their preaching that day at the meeting, threatening to fine them twenty pounds each, under the Conventicle Act. Finding that they would not deposit these sums, or give security for their appearance at the ensuing sessions, or take the oath of allegiance, he committed them to prison.

From hence George Whitehead and Thomas Burr wrote a respectful letter to the magistrates of the city, before whom they were to be brought, entreating their moderation and that they would not allow them to be deprived of a full and fair hearing. A very minute account of their trial, collected and compared at the sessions by several hands, is preserved in George Whitehead's narrative ; from which the following is abstracted.

At the quarter sessions for the city and county of Norwich, the 28th day of April, so called, 1680.

The prisoners were brought to the bar.

Their hats ordered to be taken off.

George Whitehead standing up to the bar, began thus, viz.

" The law of England requires two things of the court, with respect to the prisoners, viz.

" First the patience of the court ; and secondly, the indifferency of the court towards the prisoners.

" That their case may be patiently heard and considered, without prejudication, before any judgment pass against them. We have been five weeks in prison ; it is meet the court should know for what. Pray let our mittimus be produced and read in court, that it may be understood what charge we suffer under."

Recorder. " There is no need of your mittimus to be read here ; I will give account of the cause ; I will inform the court. These persons had been two months from home, and had been up and down the country in

Suffolk, at a burial, &c. And then they came hither, and here they gathered a company together of about two hundred, and the officers went from me to dissipate them, but could not; whereupon I sent the sheriff, and he took them away and put them in prison. And then they were brought before me; and after conviction made, I proffered them that if they would pay their fines, I would not commit them to prison; but when they would not, I tendered the oath of allegiance to them; and after they would not take it, I sent them to gaol; as I think I very well might."

George Whitehead. "We are Englishmen, and have a right to travel in any part of the nation," &c.

Recorder. "There is a law, and the Church of England will never be at quiet till some of you be hanged by that law," (or till such fellows as you are hanged.)

George Whitehead. "The court may see the frame of the recorder's spirit towards us, and that he stands not as a person indifferent but a party against us. Thou oughtest not to inveigh against the prisoners, nor threaten us; that stands not with the indifferency of the court; nor yet thy determining or resolving aforehand against us, as thou hast done. Judges ought not to declare their opinions aforehand against the prisoner; Hussey, the chief justice, would not do it to the king, in the case of Humphrey Stafford the arch-traitor, but begged of the king he would not desire him to declare his opinion aforehand, that the prisoner might come judicially before him and have justice done him. And the king accepted his request in the case."—Interrupted. See Cook's Inst part 3, fol. 29.

Recorder. "What king's reign was that in?"

George Whitehead. "In king Henry the seventh's."

Recorder. "I perceive you have read," (or are read.)

George Whitehead. "Seeing that none of the court have as yet had any hand against us, except the recorder, we may charitably hope that the court will stand indifferent toward us, and let us have a fair hearing before any determination. The laws of our nation re-

quire a due course of proceeding, before men be sentenced or condemned ; so there ought to be a due hearing : as where a process or proceeding consists of several parts, each part ought to be enquired into and answered in due order, without confounding one thing with another, or putting that first which in course is last. Let us have a fair hearing and trial : let us be tried before we be hanged."

Recorder. " You were sent to prison for refusing the oath of allegiance."

George Whitehead. " That is a mistake ; we were sent to prison for being at a meeting charged to be against the peace ; which is the premises in our mittimus to which we are here to answer. And therefore, that all may know what is laid to our charge, we desire our mittimus may be read, that so, if there be any persons that will undertake to prove the matter in charge, let us see them and have liberty to answer the premises contained in the mittimus."

Recorder. " I will show you, that when a person is committed to prison, he may have several actions laid upon him, if new charges be brought against him," &c.

Prisoner. " I grant that ; but that is not our case ; for we presume the recorder had no new matter brought against us, after he committed us to prison ; and therefore could not lay any new charge upon us."

The recorder continued to refuse the reading of the mittimus upon which they were committed, and after some further altercation said : " Put the oath to them that is in the second mittimus."

George Whitehead. " I beg of this court for God's sake and the king's sake, to be heard fairly without thus being run upon : for God's sake, because he is a God of justice and truth ; and for the king's sake, because the king's will towards us as subjects, is what the law and justice wills. As his will is the will of the law, he wills that none of his subjects be injured or unduly prosecuted contrary to law. I appeal to the mayor as chief magistrate of this city, and the rest of the

justices here present, whether ye ought not to see us have that right done us, as to have our mittimus produced and read in court, that you may understand the cause of our commitment, we were not committed for refusing the oath. We intreat that the court may hear our mittimus, that we may not have other premises put upon us than what is contained therein."

Recorder. "It shall not be read; there is no need of that: I am present that committed you."

George Whitehead. "I appeal to the mayor and the rest of the justices, who are more indifferent towards us, for justice in this case, viz. that we may have our mittimus read and answer to the premises contained in it; and not thus be run upon and diverted with that which is none of the premises," &c.

Mayor. "You have appealed to me; truly we are tradesmen and no lawyers: we leave matters of law to the recorder; he knows the law and we must acquiesce in his judgment."

Thomas Burr. "Thou understandest we ought to have our mittimus read and be heard; and thou art the chief magistrate in this court," &c.

George Whitehead. "You all have a conscience towards God, and an equal and just law therein; and you are under a severe obligation, to wit, your oath, to see justice and right done us. We appeal to the mayor and justices here for justice, in relation to our mittimus, that it may not be thus evaded. We are at this sessions to answer to the premises or matter of charge therein contained; you are concerned in conscience to do us right herein. The honour of this court is also concerned, not to see us precipitated nor run down upon other premises. The mittimus was given under the hand and seal of your recorder, his reputation and honour are also concerned," &c.

Recorder. "My honour concerned! wherein?"

George Whitehead. "Thy reputation and honour are concerned, in that thou art bound to stand by our mit-

timus; it is under thy hand and seal: now thou goest about to evade it, by imposing other premises upon us."

Recorder. "They sent their mittimus to the attorney general, and solicited him for advice, to know whether they were according to law or not. And moved for a *habeas corpus*; but it would not be granted."

George Whitehead. "We neither sent to the attorney-general, nor have we yet moved for a *habeas corpus*."

Recorder. "The second mittimus or warrant is about their refusing the oath of allegiance; as for the first, I did not make it by book."

George Whitehead. "It is not a reasonable thing to bring a prisoner, and not withal to signify the crimes laid against him: it was contrary to the very laws of the Romans.—" Interrupted.

Recorder. "What tell you us of the law of the Romans; we have laws of our own to act by," &c.

George Whitehead. "It is according to the law of reason and nations, that the crimes and offences should be known, for which prisoners are committed and detained in prison; else why should they suffer?"

Recorder. "The court must tender you the oath."

George Whitehead. "Wherefore then were we committed and detained in prison above these five weeks? If we be offenders, let us know our offence for which we were committed; if not, do not go about to ensnare us; do not seek occasion against us. It is enough to punish us, if found guilty of what is charged against us in our mittimus. We entreat the mayor and court to do us right in this matter, that our mittimus may be read."

Mayor and some others. "Well, you shall have it read."

George Whitehead. "Keeper, where is our mittimus; produce it that it may be read, as the mayor and other justices here present have engaged."

Recorder. "Tender them the oath; put the oath to them. If you will take it, that shall serve, &c. If not, you incur a *premunire*," &c.

The clerk begins to read the oath.

George Whitehead. "The oath is none of the premises contained in our mittimus, which we are to answer to at this sessions, and to be tried upon."

Thomas Burr. "Our all is at stake; we perceive the recorder is determined concerning us: we must have liberty to speak; we are freeborn Englishmen."

Recorder. "We have power here to tender you the oath, without taking notice of any other cause."

George Whitehead. "It is preposterous to run us upon the oath in the first place, we being not committed for that, but for other causes."

Recorder. "You affront the court: is that a fit word to give the court, to charge the court with preposterous proceedings."

George Whitehead. "I do not charge the court; I do distinguish between the recorder, in this point, and the court. He seeks to run us upon that first, which in course is last, according to his own mittimus and warrant; and is not that preposterous? Let our mittimus be read, and that will show we were not committed upon the oath."

"We ought to have due process or proceeding in due course of law: therefore the court should know how we were first arrested and turned into gaol by the sheriff, without examination, mittimus or warrant; and how afterward had out and committed; and what the mittimus is; what are the premises contained in it, that we are to answer unto."

"The law of England is tender of men's liberties, properties, estates, and lives, all which are concerned in our imprisonment; *lex anglia* is said to be *lex misericordiae*, that is, the law of England is a law of mercy; one reason whereof is, that the innocent may not be worn or wasted through long imprisonment, but be brought forth speedily to his trial, according to magna charta," &c.

Recorder. "Look what an argument or consequence you would draw from hence, the law of England is a law of mercy; it is *lex misericordiae*, therefore thieves

or malefactors, &c. must not be brought to condign punishment," &c.

George Whitehead. "This is none of my consequence; mine is the same that Judge Coke doth instance, wherein the law of England is *lex misericordia*, in that it is tender of men's liberties and prescribes a due course of procedure." Interrupted.

"Magna charta enjoins, that no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, &c. but by the law of the land. The law of England requires due process from the very first arrest, taking, and imprisoning, to the very end and execution of the same. Therefore the first arrest, imprisoning, and committing us, ought to be known and understood, whether it was in due manner and course of law, yea or nay."

The recorder was much offended at the prisoner, for urging so strongly the reading of their mittimus, and with the justices for acquiescing in their desire.

At length, on George Whitehead still urging the production of this document, the recorder said to him: "No doubt you have a copy;" on which George Whitehead said he had, and craved the liberty of the court to read it. The justices having queried one of another, and being generally of the mind that it ought to be read, the mayor informed the recorder, that the justices were agreed it should be read, which was accordingly done. *It stated, that the prisoners had assembled together with several other persons, in disturbance of the public peace and against the laws of the realm; and being required to find sureties for their respecting appearance at the next quarter sessions, which they refused, the keeper of the common gaol was required to receive them, and keep them until they should be discharged by due order of law.*

George Whitehead urging the charge contained in the mittimus, viz. that of being at a meeting in disturbance of the public peace—the recorder insisted on what he called the other mittimus, being read also. George Whitehead pressed the court to try them, in the first

instance, at least, on their original mittimus, and stated, that they had exceptions against the second warrant which ought to be read if the warrant were. The court agreed that both should be read.

Recorder. "Have you any thing against the oath of allegiance? Or do you except against any thing contained in it?"

George Whitehead. "We have nothing to except against the declaration of allegiance contained in it, as to the substance thereof."

Thomas Burr. "We show our allegiance by our conversations, that is, by our living peaceably under the king and government."

Recorder. "Do you scruple any word or thing contained in the oath? If you do, tell us what it is."

George Whitehead. "We both own and can sign the declaration of allegiance, in opposition to the pope and popery; and to those seditious or treasonable practices and positions abjured and renounced by that oath."

Recorder. "Do you hold it unlawful to take an oath in any case?"

George Whitehead. "We are not committed to prison to answer to questions at sessions; but to answer to the premises contained in our mittimus."

Recorder. "Do you not hold it lawful to tell a lie, that is an *official* lie? to prevent an imminent danger," &c.

George Whitehead. "No, by no means; that is not a true protestant principle, to tell or maintain an *official* lie, so called."

Recorder. "Will you take the oath? &c. If you will, hold up your hand as a testimony that you do take the oath or swear, that shall serve," &c.

George Whitehead. "We have a protestation or declaration against the pope and popery, which was delivered to the committee of parliament, and thereby judged sufficient to distinguish us from popish recusants: we crave leave of the court to read it."

Recorder. "What difference is there between a protestation and an oath?"

George Whitehead. "It may be a protestation or testimony against popery, yet not an oath. I pray you let us read our protestation, that we may not lie under suspicion without cause."

Court. "You may. Read it."

The protestation read in court, which followeth.

"A protestation or declaration, to distinguish Protestant dissenters from Popish recusants.

"I, A. B. do, in the presence of Almighty God, solemnly profess, and in good conscience declare, it is my real judgment that the Church of Rome is not the real Church of Christ; nor the pope or bishop of Rome, Christ's vicar: and his or their doctrines, of deposing heretical princes and of absolving their subjects of their obedience; of purgatory and prayers for the dead; of indulgences and worshipping of images; of adoring and praying to the Virgin Mary and other saints, deceased; and of transubstantiation, or changing the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever; are false, erroneous, and contrary to the Truth of God declared in the Holy Scriptures: and therefore, that the communion of the said Church is superstitious and idolatrous.

"And I do likewise sincerely testify and declare, that I do from the bottom of my heart, detest and abhor all plots and conspiracies that are, or may be contrived against the king, or parliament, or people, of this realm, or the true Protestant religion therein professed. And I do hereby faithfully promise, by God's help, to live a peaceable and sober life, as becometh a good Christian and protestant to do.

"And all this I do acknowledge, intend, declare, and subscribe, without any equivocation or mental reservation; according to the true plainness, simplicity, and usual significations of the words.

"Witness my hand."

George Whitehead. "This was accepted by a great committee and entered in the journal of parliament, in order to distinguish us from popish recusants," &c.

Recorder. "We have not a law to accept it: it is not enacted or made a law. We must proceed according to law, &c. You seem to declare for the true Protestant religion, &c. when you dissent from the Church of England; I am not in that point satisfied with your declaration."

George Whitehead. "We have no mental reservations in the case. We are willing and ready to sign this declaration. Is there any evidence against us, to prove the premises contained in our mittimus? Where are our accusers?"

Recorder. "The premises: what are they?"

George Whitehead. "The being at an unlawful assembly in disturbance of the public peace, as is pretended against us; let us be tried, and either condemned or acquitted hereupon."

Recorder. "I was more favourable to you than you deserved; for I could have drawn an indictment against you at common law, and brought you to a trial upon it; which being found against you I must have fined you."

"We who are in commission for the peace, are *lex loquens*, and to give the true meaning of the law. We are not to make laws, but to interpret the law. We are to punish or amerce offenders, *secundum qualitatem* and *secundum quantitatum delicti*," &c.

George Whitehead. "We are not at present about to justify ourselves as to matter of fact; we are willing to hear evidence what any can prove against us, in relation to our assemblies. Let us have due process."

Recorder. "If the court will agree to it, we will adjourn. And I will provide an indictment, and give order that the witnesses shall be here, and will give it to the grand inquest; and if they find it against you,

you shall be fined forty pounds, and imprisonment till paid," &c.

Prisoner. "It seems the witnesses are yet to procure. Is there any here that can give evidence against our meeting, of the breach of the peace," &c.

Recorder. "That is a lie; I did not say I would procure witnesses: that is scandalous."

Thomas Burr. "We desire that no advantage may be taken against us for a word. You ought not to take advantage," &c.

George Whitehead. "I intended no offence in the word *procure*; I intended it not in the worst sense, that is, as by way of subornation; for I intended no other than according to the recorder's own words, that witnesses should be here, or the like, which doubtless many present heard."

Recorder. "You shall have the oath put to you, and I will tell you what danger you incur: if you refuse to take it, you are to be put out of the king's protection, your lands and estates forfeit to the king, and your bodies imprisoned during the king's pleasure," &c.

George Whitehead. "We understand what a *premunire* means, according to the statute of *premunire*, made in the sixteenth year of king Richard the Second; though there is no equity that should be brought upon us, whilst we practise our allegiance. Suppose we cannot for conscience' sake swear, it is but hard measure to bring us under the penalty of *premunire* for that cause only. What equity can there be in it? seeing we utterly deny the pope and popery, &c.; to which we may justly add, and abhor those treasonable practices and positions, which are abjured by that oath. Can it be equal or just to run us to a *premunire*, to forfeit our estates, liberties, &c. only for want of swearing? How can that be either *secundum qualitatum*, or *secundum quantitatum delicti*?"

Recorder. "You talk of conscience. Friend, friend, let me ask you one question: pray what is conscience?"

George Whitehead. "It is that knowledge that God

hath placed in man ; it is a knowing together between God and our own souls, by virtue of the law of God in man ; whereby he knows what is good and what is evil, and whereby he is taught to embrace the good and shun the evil. It is called, the law of truth, the law of equity, the law of reason, &c. against which law, says the law book ' Doctor and Student,' no law nor custom ought to be brought, but is void."

Recorder. " Although I asked you a question, I did not bid you preach upon it. But conscience may be seared ; as when men will not be reclaimed, but have their own wills be they never so contrary."

George Whitehead. " It is true ; some men's consciences become hardened and seared through sinning, and for want of being exercised by that law of God in them. Yet there is a universal law of truth in mankind, whereby even the wicked and those of seared and hardened consciences, shall finally be convicted and awakened in torment," &c.

Recorder. " You must have the oath put to you ; the court must tender you the oath of allegiance ; will you take it ?"

George Whitehead. " We lie under a charge in our mittimus ; let us be discharged of that first : that contains the premises which we are to answer to ; let us not be hood-winked. Are we discharged of the two warrants that are against us, yea or no ? The rest of the court ought to know, that one thing may not confound another."

Recorder. " You talk law as you talk Gospel ; here you talk a little, and there you talk a little. It is pity you have the benefit of the law ; you put yourselves from the protection of the law."

George Whitehead. " The recorder is a party against us ; he is our accuser, prosecutor, and judge. He inveighs against us ; he is determined against us ; he has told his resolution aforehand," &c.

One justice. " You offer contempt against the king

in what you say against his minister; the recorder is his minister."

George Whitehead. "No such matter; I only oppose an undue and irregular procedure, which is not the king's will," &c.

Recorder. "Your words tend to stir up the people here to sedition."

George Whitehead. "We have no such design; we only plead our own rights as Englishmen: the losers must have leave to speak; our liberties, and estates, and families are concerned; our wives and families suffer by our restraint," &c.

Recorder. "Clerk, tender him the oath; offer him the book."

Clerk reads: "I George Whitehead do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience," &c.

George Whitehead. "Forbear; we have matter of plea which ought to be heard first," &c.

Note. Here a great noise was made by some present.

Crier. "O yes! silence in the court," &c.

George Whitehead. "We beg of the court that we may not be thus run upon, but duly heard upon the process we suffer under."

Recorder. "Will you take the oath? answer and then you shall know the pleasure of the court."

George Whitehead. "We ought to be at some certainty, whether we are discharged of the premises laid against us in the two warrants. The recorder was even now for indicting us at common law: now he is all in haste to put the oath upon us. Thus he appears inconsistent with himself: he is not now *lex loquens* to be sure; for the law speaking doth not contradict itself. He is not the mouth of the law, in running thus unduly and abruptly upon us with the oath, to evade the premises which we were to answer to. Are we discharged of the two warrants, yea or no? let us have the plain advice or sense of the court."

Recorder. "It may be you may suppose you be discharged; what is the consequence you will infer thence."

George Whitehead. "We desire a plain answer; we are not to be answered by supposition, nor thence to draw consequences now: we are not called hither to dispute upon a hypothetical argument; we expect a positive plain answer, and the sense of the court concerning our mittimus and warrant: are we discharged of them or not?"

Some of the court to the recorder: "Let them be discharged of them."

Some of the court: "You are discharged of them."

George Whitehead. "Does the recorder say so? Does he assent to it? Let proclamation be made of it then, that we may be set at liberty in the same capacity we were in before we were first arrested."

Recorder. "No, no; seeing you will take your way I will take my way; you shall have the oath first and then your discharge. Will you take the oath, and then you shall be discharged? What say you to it? Read the oath," &c.

Thomas Burr. "It is a force put upon us; it is very hard dealing we may not be duly heard," &c.

George Whitehead. "Are the rest of the justices of the same mind, that we should be thus run upon? We hope you are not all of the same mind with the recorder in this proceeding. He is engaged against us; he is resolved to make something of it, and to make us exemplary in suffering."

Recorder. "Stop his mouth; take him away. They had not only need to have their hats pulled off, but their mouths stopt also."

George Whitehead. "Pray hear us; we have more to offer as about this tender of the oath, to show how undue it is, if you will but suffer the law to be read which we desire. But we ought first to have had proclamation made of our discharge from the two warrants."

Recorder. "If we should make proclamation and let you go, we should be laughed at: no, no; I see you lay upon the catch, we will not discharge you. Now we have you here we shall not let you go, for to send a warrant after you to fetch you again. Will you take the oath or not?"

George Whitehead. "Is this intended for a first tender or second? We desire an answer."

Recorder. "We will tender it you *de novo*; it shall be for a first tender; and if you will not take it, you shall be committed till next sessions," &c.

Clerk reads the oath.

Clerk. "I, Thomas Burr, do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience," &c.

George Whitehead. "We appeal to the mayor and the rest of the justices. The recorder is a party against us; he has determined against us beforehand: I will prove that he is no competent judge in our case, if I may be heard."—*Interruption.*—"Are we discharged of the two warrants? Pray let us have fair and plain dealing; do not thus force upon us; it is unfair and undue proceeding. Let us be discharged of the two warrants first, before we be put upon an answer: we ought not to be put to our answer, but upon due process," &c.

Some of the court. "You are discharged from those two mittimusses. Clerk, read their discharge." The clerk reads what the recorder had caused him to enter into the book to this purpose.

Clerk. "George Whitehead and Thomas Burr are discharged of the matter contained in their two mittimusses. And the oath of allegiance, and the Testament to swear in open court, at this present sessions, was severally tendered to them; and the said George Whitehead and Thomas Burr, having severally refused to take the said oath of allegiance, it is therefore ordered, that the said George Whitehead and Thomas Burr be committed to the common gaol of the said city, there

to remain without bail or mainprize until the next quarter sessions," &c.

George Whitehead. "The latter part is not true; we have not yet refused the oath; we were not duly nor regularly brought upon that point as to give a positive answer, because of the other precedent charges which we were to answer to. We have yet matter of plea about the tender of the oath, *de novo*, in court. We request further time to be heard upon an adjournment, before we give our positive answer. We desire to know upon what law or statute it is tendered?" No answer was given to this question.

Recorder. "You have stronger lungs than I; I understand you had a feast last night, &c. Adjourn the court; take them away gaoler."

George Whitehead. "Pray let us have more time to consider and speak to this point. I intreat that I may have leave to read the clause in the statute, that concerns the tender of the oath."

These endeavours of the prisoners to be heard, after the pretended order was entered, was, because the prisoners did not believe that the justices, or greater number of them, did concur with the recorder's proceeding against them; but that they had more both of moderation and justice in them, and that he carried things on too much over their heads; and all to run down and ensnare the prisoners, to oppress them and continue them under suffering.

Officers. "The court adjourned."

George Whitehead held by the bar, pressing to be further heard after the adjournment, when the court met again, and for the statute to be read about the oath; neither whereof would be granted the prisoners, but two of the keepers pulled the prisoners away.

Prisoner. "Take notice that we have not yet refused the oath, being not duly nor regularly brought upon that point; but we have owned the declaration of allegiance contained in it, and do still freely assent to

it, in opposition to and abhorrence of all those treasonable practices, positions, and principles abjured and renounced by that oath ; though we are conscientiously afraid to swear it, only with respect to Christ's prohibition in the case of swearing."

SECTION XIV.

George Whitehead and Thomas Burr re-conveyed to prison—released at the next quarter sessions.—Distinction between the refusal of Friends to take the oath and that of the Papists.—Change in the sentiments of parliament respecting the persecution of dissenting protestants.—Bills for the relief of dissenters.—Character of informers.—Petition to the king.—A discourse with him.—G. Whitehead labours in the ministry and shares in the sufferings of his Friends.

After this manly and Christian defence of their civil and religious rights, being re-conveyed to prison, George Whitehead and his companions addressed a letter to the mayor and aldermen of the city, acknowledging the impartiality and moderation with which they had been treated on their trial; but at the same time respectfully urging the illegality of the proceeding, in the tendering of the oath to them, *de novo*; and requesting a hearing in their council chamber, or to be brought before the adjournment of the court. Notwithstanding the favourable disposition of the magistrates, and that the recorder, five days after their trial, had been voted out of place by the common council, their discharge was not effected until the time of the next regular sessions; when no charge being exhibited against them, they were ordered to be released.

The earl of Yarmouth and several other persons of eminence interfered in their favour; from which, as well as from the conduct of the magistrates, it may be inferred, that some change in public opinion, probably both as regarded the character of the Quakers and the nature of persecution, had taken place.

It must also be admitted, that some change had taken place in the manner of George Whitehead's treating those who differed from him; and that, without any diminution of the sincerity and piety which marked the

early period of his life, there was an evident increase of that conciliatory spirit, which is the usual accompaniment of mature wisdom. He has left very copious remarks on the proceedings in this case;* and whilst they have lost much of their interest, by the happy change in the laws, as well as, we trust, in the disposition of the people respecting persecution, the following passages, in which he draws the distinction between the case of the Papists and the Quakers in regard to the refusal of the oath of allegiance, may be worthy of insertion; as showing the views taken by the Society, in relation to the political duties of its members.

Our case, says he, vastly differs from theirs for whom the oath was intended; there is no parity between our case and theirs. We conscientiously scruple or fear to take that oath, as we do all oaths, viz because it is an oath; not because of the declaration therein contained, of such duty and allegiance as every true and well-affected subject ought to bear to the king; nor yet because of the testimony or declaration therein against the pope, his pretended power, excommunications, absolutions, damnable positions, &c. therein mentioned; for that declaration and testimony therein contained, for fidelity to the king and against the pope, &c. we can freely sign, as we have delivered a declaration to that purpose to the late long parliament, and in some points containing a more full protestation against popery, in the most erroneous, idolatrous, and superstitious doctrines thereof: which declaration was accepted by a large committee of parliament, as sufficient to distinguish us from Papists, and entered into the journal of the house of commons. And therefore the substance of the declaration of allegiance, contained in the oath

* George Whitehead published at the time a very particular account of the trial, under the title of "Due order of Law and Justice, pleaded against irregular and arbitrary Proceedings. Published for information and caution, on the behalf of true Protestants and Englishmen's birthrights." *Editor.*

of allegiance, we cannot oppugn, but *own*, as it is or may be transferred or intended on behalf of the present king, in opposition to those treasonable practices and principles thereby renounced and abjured; as being persuaded in conscience, that he was eminently preserved and restored by the hand of Divine Providence, to have actual power and dominion in this realm and all other his countries, knowing that the Most High rules over the kingdoms of men and that they are at his disposal.

And we also believe, that in good conscience we are bound to demean ourselves honestly, and to live as peaceable minded Christians and true protestant subjects under the king and his government, giving to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's. And then our solemn and serious protestation is against the pope as antichristian, and against those popish principles, wicked positions and practices, viz.

Of deposing or murdering kings and princes excommunicated by the pope.

Of disposing of their kingdoms, dominions, and countries.

Of authorizing foreign princes to invade and annoy them.

Of absolving subjects from their allegiance and obedience.

Of licensing any of them to bear arms, raise tumults, or offer violence or hurt to their lawful kings, princes, governments, or subjects.

Of treasons, traitorous conspiracies, and hellish plots against king, government, parliament, or people.

Of that damnable position, that princes that be excommunicated or deprived by the pope, may be deposed by their subjects or any other.

All which destructive principles and abominable practices, together with that antichristian spirit from whence they proceed, we do in good conscience and in the sight and presence of God who knows our hearts, utterly

abhor, protest, and testify against; and therefore do neither refuse nor scruple the said oath in favour to these or any such principles.

What is now wanting that we must be run to pre-munire, to lose our estates and liberties? Is a peaceable conversation wanting on our parts? No. Is the duty of allegiance towards our king wanting? No. Are we infected with popish, treacherous, treasonable, or destructive principles against our king, or his government or people? No; God knows the innocency of our hearts and intentions, and men know our peaceable conversations. What then is the matter, that we must be so severely dealt withal, to the uttermost rigour of the law, to be deprived of all outward liberties, properties, estates, livelihoods, and all our outward comforts in this world? Are we guilty of any such essential offence or capital crime, in our not coming under the circumstance of an oath, as may justly and naturally merit such severity? No, surely. The case is brought to a near point, and reduced to a very narrow compass.

An innocent, honest, quiet, and well meaning man, both towards the king, his government, and people; he is truly principled in his duty; he is real and honest in his heart towards his protestant prince; he is a real protestant against the pope and all popish antichristian positions and destructive practices; he not only performs his duty of allegiance in his peaceable conversation, but also declares it in the sight of God and men, and is willing to sign and subscribe such declaration of his duty of allegiance, if he may not otherwise be believed; only he conscientiously scruples to say, I swear, and to kiss the book, to make his declaration an oath; for want only of which circumstance and ceremony, this poor innocent man and sincere protestant must be run to a premunire, his liberty lost, and the little estate or substance he has must be forfeited and all taken from him; his poor wife and small children left desolate, wholly impoverished and want bread; his

wife must go mourning and wringing her hands, and shedding of tears night and day, for the hard measure she has met withal, and her children dolefully crying and mourning for want of bread!

Where is now either conscience, equity, reason, justice, or mercy? Were it not very inhuman thus to destroy innocent and harmless protestants, and thereby gratify the popish spirit and party, merely because such protestants are afraid of an oath? they dare not swear. And how is the real intent and end of the law answered, by such severe and inhuman dealings with innocent protestants; who never were impeached nor justly chargeable either with treasonable attempts, principles, or practices? They cannot be detected either in actual treason, or in being infected with any treasonable principles by any of their teachers or others; and therefore, no such persons or people as those laws of premunire were feally intended against, though such can escape them. We can appeal to God, angels, and all just impartial men this is our case; we are not the people which, in point of equity or justice, the law could ever be intended against; we are of no such destructive principles or practices, as either the nature of the oath points at and intends, or the statute of premunire, 16 R. 2, c. 5, was provided against; unto which statute both that of the third of king James, c. 4, and seventh of king James, c. 6, do refer, for the penalty of a premunire upon persons refusing to swear to the declaration of their allegiance. Let that of 16 R. 2, c. 5, be considered, as to the nature and intent thereof.

George Whitehead thus continues his narrative.

It was very observeable, that before the dissolution of that long parliament in king Charles the Second's reign, which made sundry acts against us, there was a great alteration in its disposition, being much turned against persecuting dissenting protestants, especially by those

laws made against popish recusants; and there was certainly an overruling power and hand of the Lord God in that alteration and change of the spirit of that parliament, to compassion rather than persecution. He that standeth in the congregation of the mighty, and judgeth among the gods, did certainly judge and plead for the cause of the innocent sufferers under the great and long persecutions that had been upon them. And it was also remarkable, that some time before the said long parliament was dissolved, many of our old adversaries and rigid persecutors therein were removed by death, and new members of better spirits and tempers chosen in their stead; insomuch that before that parliament was ended, it was so changed that it appeared almost like a new house of commons.

After which, the ensuing parliaments appeared more and more considerate, and inclined to moderation and charity towards dissenting protestants; and such were we esteemed, being publicly manifest by our plain testimony against popery. For towards the conclusion of the aforesaid long parliament, which was so much altered for the better by new elections, &c. a grand committee of the whole house was appointed, to enquire into the case of the Quakers suffering by those old laws made against popish recusants, in the reigns of queen Elizabeth and king James the first. Divers of us appeared before that committee, among whom were William Mead, William Penn,* myself, with some others; and

* The attention of the parliament, was drawn to the consideration of the discrimination of Protestant dissenters in general from Papists, and William Penn presented petitions to both houses, praying that in the discriminating clause, the solemn declaration of a Quaker might be taken instead of his oath.

Two speeches of his before the committee on this occasion are preserved, in which he strongly denied the imputation of popery, and at the same time dared to speak his mind as to the error of persecuting any person *whatever* for their conscientious belief. The following passages from his speeches may probably be agreeable to the reader.

After speaking of the abuse which had been heaped upon himself particularly, as a papist, and even as an emissary from Rome

two things were inquired of us, or which we were to inform the said committee of.

1. If we owned ourselves to be protestant dissenters?
2. How we suffered by laws made against popish recusants?

In both which we fully satisfied the committee, and our case was generally considered unjust as well as il-

and in pay from the pope, he says: "Nay, some zealots for the Protestant religion have been so far gone in this mistake, as not only to think ill of us and decline our conversation, but to take courage to themselves to prosecute us for a sort of concealed Papists; and the truth is, that what with one thing and what with another, we have been as the wool-sacks and common whipping stock of the kingdom. All laws have been let loose upon us, as if the design were not to *reform* but to *destroy* us; and this not for what we are, but for what we are not. It is hard that we must thus bear the stripes of another interest, and be their proxy in punishment. But mark! I would not be mistaken; I am far from thinking it fit, because I exclaim against the injustice of whipping Quakers for Papists, that Papists should be whipt for their consciences. No; for though the hand pretended to be lifted up against them hath, I know not by what discretion, lighted heavily upon us; and we complain; yet we do not mean that any should take a fresh aim at them, or that they should come in our room; for we must give the liberty we ask, and cannot be false to our principles, though it were to relieve ourselves; for we have good will to all men, and would have none suffer for a truly sober and conscientious dissent on any hand."

Towards the conclusion he says: "I do here solemnly declare, in the presence of Almighty God, and before you all, that the profession I now make and the Society I now adhere to, have been so far from altering that protestant judgment I had, that I am not conscious to myself, of having receded from an *idol* of any one principle, maintained by those first protestants and reformers of Germany, and our own martyrs at home, against the see of Rome. On the contrary, I do with great truth assure you, that we are of the same negative faith with the ancient Protestant Church; and upon occasion shall be ready, by God's assistance, to make it appear, that we are of the same belief as to the most fundamental articles of her creed too; and therefore it is we think it hard, that though we deny, in common with her, those doctrines of Rome so strenuously *protested* against, whence the name Protestants, we should be so unhappy as to suffer, and that with extreme severity, by those very laws on purpose made against the maintainers of those doctrines which we so deny." *Clarkson's Life of W. Penn, vol. 1, page 221.* Editor,

legal ; since we suffered as popish recusants, when we were manifest to be real protestants; and the papists were indulged and went free ; though for our parts we envied not their liberty, although we deeply suffered in their stead.

It was very remarkable, that while our persecutors were persecuting us upon the Conventicle Act, and statutes made against popish recusants, and unjustly aspersing our religious assemblies, as being seditious conventicles and very dangerous to plot and contrive insurrections, &c. ; about that very time, discovery was made of the popish plot.

This plot being strictly inquired into by the commons in parliament, great information was given about it ; and in the address of both houses of parliament to the king, complaint was made against the conspirators in these words, viz. " A popish party, who have not only plotted and intended the destruction of your majesty's royal person, but the total subversion of the government and true religion established among us," &c.

From which it may be observed, that it was not in any of the Quaker's meetings, nor in the meetings of any other dissenting protestants, that this conspiracy or plot was found ; but among a popish party. How unjust was it therefore, so severely to persecute the people called Quakers, and violently to interrupt their religious meetings, under pretence of being seditious and dangerous to plot and contrive insurrections, to imprison their persons, to fine them, and often to spoil their goods ? And not only to treat them thus, but to prosecute them upon those laws made against popish recusants and not against innocent protestants ; even whilst, as it is said, " this restless party (meaning of papists) not content with the great liberty they had a long time enjoyed, to exercise their own religion privately among themselves, to partake of an equal freedom of their persons and estates with your majesty's protestant subjects, and of an advantage above them

in being excused from chargeable offices and employments," &c. So that it then appeared to the parliament, that the papists escaped the penalties of those old laws made against them, for their absence from their parish churches, much more than the people called Quakers could, who deeply suffered thereby.

After the discovery of the said popish plot, and the impeachment, trial, and condemnation of William Lord Viscount Stafford, in December, 1680, the parliament thought it very necessary to consider and provide some means to increase the interest of all protestants, and strengthen and unite them in interest and affection, for the better security of the kingdom and government; which had been long weakened and greatly injured by persecution.

Then the parliament bethought themselves of preparing and bringing in a bill for dissenting protestants. In the votes of the house of commons, the 16th day of December, 1680, there is this, viz.

"A bill for exempting his majesty's protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws, was read the first time."

This bill was read a second time, and it was "resolved, that the said bill be committed upon the debate of the house, to the committee to whom the bill for uniting his majesty's protestant subjects is committed upon the debate of the house."

Divers Friends attended the committee some considerable time that winter, about the said bill, both early and late; desiring that it might be made effectual for our just liberty and freedom from persecution, and clear from all clauses and provisoes which might in any way be a snare to us, or contrary to our tender consciences; and to answer the end intended both by the title and preamble; the title being, "A bill of ease to all protestant dissenters;" and the preamble thus: "Forasmuch as some ease to tender consciences in the exercise of religion, may be an effectual means to unite his

majesty's protestant subjects in interest and affection, which is highly necessary in this time of imminent danger from the common enemy the papists, be it enacted," &c.

Which bill contained divers clauses which are in the act of the first of king William the Third, for exempting protestant dissenters from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws, that is, of those made against popish recusants and conventicles, whereby we the said people chiefly suffered; and also in the said bill this special exemption was made in our favour, viz.

"And whereas there are certain other persons, dissenters from the Church of England, which scruple taking any oath.

"Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every such person shall make and subscribe the aforesaid declaration, and also this declaration of allegiance following," &c.

The first being the declaration mentioned in a statute, made in the twentieth year of king Charles the Second, entitled, "An act to prevent papists from sitting in either house of parliament."

The second being the declaration of allegiance, without taking the oath: which divers Friends have formerly proffered, being willing to sign the declaration without swearing to it, or using any of the words which render it an oath, as I swear, this oath, &c. or the final imprecation of, "so help me God," which more fully makes it an oath, together with kissing the book.

As we were to be exempted from these, we esteemed it a favour then intended us; though it could not in that parliament and reign of king Charles the Second, be brought into an act; yet there was some honest and good beginning, which afterward, in the reign of king William the Third, upon more mature deliberation was made more effectual.

The chairman of that committee which sat upon the said bill, was the lord Finch, since earl of Nottingham,

who then appeared favourable and friendly to us ; and for promoting the said bill into an act, if it could have been, in that parliament ; and to some of us since that, he has positively declared his opinion to be for toleration, without which neither we nor their church are safe.

In the said committee we met with some interruption, by two or three members who were favourers of the Presbyterians and Independents' societies ; they offering terms of the ease intended in the said bill, in behalf of their friends the Presbyterians and Independents, which we the people called Quakers could not assent to, namely, the taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. And if they had gotten what they offered, inserted in the bill or act, as terms of ease to dissenting protestants, we well knew we should have been excluded, and still exposed to persecution and sufferings. I was indeed burdened when they made such an offer, because I was sensible it tended to the injury of many other conscientious protestant dissenters.

Wherefore on the same occasion I quickly went both to colonel Birch and Alderman Love, and cleared my conscience to them against what they had offered ; knowing it would be very uneasy to truly conscientious dissenters, to have the oath of supremacy imposed upon them ; and thereby to swear, that they utterly declare and testify in their conscience, that the king's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, &c. as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things, or cases, as temporal, &c. How to reconcile with this oath, their dissenting in spiritual or ecclesiastical matters from the Church of England, I knew not, neither did I find they could tell or demonstrate ; nor how they could promise, that to their power they would assist and defend all jurisdictions, privileges, pre-eminences, and authorities granted or belonging to the king, his heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm.

I did both seriously and tenderly clear my conscience in the matter to them; for I wished well to the men. After all our endeavours to have the said bill of ease passed with safety into an act, and our attendance on that parliament, the king's dissolving the same prevented it.

One circumstance I took particular notice of: one night when we were attending the said committee, Sir Christopher Musgrave came and complained to the committee, against the severe usage of many of our Friends; telling the committee the prisons were filled with them, and how many for small matters were excommunicated and imprisoned; and what a shame and scandal it was to their Church, to use the Quakers so hardly for such small matters, &c.; or to the same effect.

I little expected he would have then appeared openly an advocate so far for our suffering Friends, being a person who professed much zeal for their Church; yet he saw it was not for its honour, to be guilty of such severe persecution.

Although that parliament did not pass the act intended for the ease of protestant dissenters, yet before their dissolution they passed a vote against persecution.

It was resolved in the house of commons: "That it is the opinion of this house, that the prosecution of protestant dissenters upon the penal laws,* is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the protestant interest, an encouragement to popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom."

Being sensible the Lord was pleased to open the eyes of the parliament, to see what a popish design it was, for a protestant church, so called, to prosecute protestants; we were the more concerned at that time to

* Although these laws were originally designed against the Papists, yet all persons who did not go to church, and did not receive the sacrament once a year, were liable to their penalties.

attend the parliament, and to encourage their endeavours against persecution; to frustrate the design of popery, which is persecution and violent coercion. The zeal then stirring in the government against the same, deserved to be countenanced, though it had not the desired effect.

However just and good motions and endeavours, may for a time be overruled and frustrated, they will in time revive and break forth again, and be made to take effect by a Divine overruling power and providence, as has in our days appeared. Thanks be to God who has opened the eyes of the government on sundry occasions, especially in latter times, against popery and persecution, which are both one in nature and ground: for persecution for conscience is popery, whatever church, people, or profession are for it or abet it; they are drunk and blind, and shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God.

Another instance of the parliament's design to remove persecution, was the passing a bill in both houses, entitled, "An act for the repeal of a statute made in the 35th year of the reign of queen Elizabeth;" and taking notice thereof in the ensuing parliament at Oxford, in the vote of 24 die martii, 1680-81, that it was not presented to his majesty, as the rest of the bills were, for his royal assent. And also it was resolved, that the house would next day take into consideration, by what means the said bill miscarried.

According to which order, in the next day's votes it is declared:

"That the house took into consideration, the matter relating to the bill which passed both houses in the last parliament, entitled, an act for the repeal of a statute made in the 35th year of the reign of queen Elizabeth; but was not tendered to his majesty for his royal assent.*

* Burnet says: "On the day of the prorogation, the bill ought to have been offered to the king; but the clerk of the crown, by

How this bill came to miscarry we did not hear; whether designedly mislaid or stolen, was questioned. It was pity it was not presented and passed, as both parliaments desired, viz. that in 1680 at Westminster, and that at Oxford 1681. For if the said statute of the 35th of queen Elizabeth had been utterly repealed, it had given a blow to the design of persecution and popery, which is greatly strengthened thereby; it being a precedent and plea for the popish church to use their most severe persecution against protestants, even unto death, for their religion and dissent from the Church of Rome. The said statute of the 35th of queen Elizabeth being a sanguinary law, to force dissenters to abjure the realm upon pain of death; and in her days several were put to death.

And there appears as much reason that that severe and sanguinary law should be disannulled and abrogated, as there was for the utter abolishment of the writ, *de hæretico comburendo*, and all proceedings thereupon, with all punishment by death in pursuance of any ecclesiastical censures; which were so abolished by the statute of the 29th Car. 2. ch. 9.

For as the popish hierarchy and governments unjustly turned the execution of the said writ against the protestant martyrs, so they were as likely to turn the said statute of queen Elizabeth 35, against the protestant dissenters; and there was the same reason for the repealing of one as the other.

However, it was a mercy of God to the nation, to raise up a contrary spirit to that of persecution in the parliament in those days. And yet that furious spirit remained among many of the clergy, and the irreligious followers and members of their church, who were still watching for opportunities to renew persecution against honest innocent people, especially against us,

the king's particular order, withdrew the bill. The king had no mind openly to deny it, but he had less mind to pass it."

Editor..

and to enforce a conformity in church and worship with them, contrary to our consciences; we being under a Divine obligation to worship God in spirit and truth; and not in human traditions, after the commandments, doctrines, or precepts of men.

It is true we had some times of respite and ease from severe persecutions in those days, upon the king's said declaration for liberty to tender consciences; yet those times were but short, in comparison of the long continuance of those renewed persecutions which we suffered in those days.

Informers, like beasts of prey, were lurking, creeping, and sculking about in many or most parts of the nation, where our Friends had meetings for the worship of God; being encouraged by those of the clergy and persecuting magistrates, who esteemed them useful servants of their church* to enforce conformity, though without conviction of conscience. Several of the priests also turning informers and assisting to disturb our religious meetings in divers places; all which ministered encouragement to such vile persons, in their unchristian and destructive work against innocent families and people.

Some of the priests even pleaded for and preached up coercion in matters of religion, from those texts, *Ezra* vii. 26, and *Rom.* xiii. 1, 2; though miserably perverted when applied to uphold persecution for matters of conscience, comparing both texts with the decree of

* William Crouch and I, anno 1683, having some discourse with Dr. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, at his palace at Lambeth, about the great sufferings of our Friends by informers, and I telling him what wicked persons they were, and that many of them had forsworn themselves, and deserved to be indicted for perjury; and what a dishonour it was to their Church; to employ such agents to force people to a conformity by persecution and spoil, &c.; to excuse them his answer was: "There must be some crooked timber used in building a ship," or "A ship cannot be built without some crooked timber in it." Was not this a learned and apt comparison, to show what sort of timber must needs help to build and support their Church!

Artaxerxes king of Persia, and the great encouragement and liberty of conscience which he granted, and gave to Ezra and Israel, with respect to the worship and service of their God according to their religion; as fully appears in the same chapter.

If an emperor, king, or chief ruler be a papist or an idolater, and would force me to be of his religion, or conform to his way and manner of worship, upon some great penalties or pains, even of death itself; I must not therefore comply with him or be subject to his will therein, if I be a true Christian, but stand fast in that liberty wherewith Christ hath set me free; or otherwise I should fall under miserable bondage, and lose my inward peace with God: And then what good would all the world do me? I would rather make Moses's choice, to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a short season; and at last end in tribulation and anguish of soul.

It was observable, that when the informers were let loose and countenanced by authority against us, they generally sought more after our estates than the confinement of our persons, because imprisonment would not be their gain; although many of our Friends remained in prisons, as appears by the following petition.

TO THE KING.

The humble petition of above a thousand prisoners, commonly called Quakers,

Showeth:

That our renewed hardships, our continued and increasing imprisonments, do occasion this our humble complaint and request; of which we intreat the king's favourable acceptance and tender resentments. We do solemnly declare, that we know no other cause for our strait confinements and hard usage, than what concerns our tender consciences, in serving and worshipping Almighty God that made us; being well known to be persons of quiet conversation and peaceable behaviour, and

clear in the sight of God of all seditious contrivances, plots, and conspiracies, and are not evilly affected towards the king's person or government. Howbeit, several gaols are filled, without regard to sex, age, or condition, not only to the impairing our healths, but endangering many of our lives; many having already died prisoners, the greatest part of late committed for our peaceable religious meetings; many of us under fines for that account, and upon the act of 13 and 14 Car. 2. c. 1, extending also to banishment. In some gaols, many of us crowded in nasty holes and mixed among felons; many under sentence of premunire, not for refusing fidelity or allegiance to the king, but only not swearing the same for conscience' sake; many under sentence of excommunication, committed on writs of excom. cap. &c. for nonconformity, &c. and have undergone long and tedious imprisonments. By which confinements and hardships, many innocent and industrious families are left destitute and in distress; many honest tradesmen, husbandmen, and farmers, greatly discouraged and spoiled in their trades and livelihoods; and many poor families depending on them for employment, now for lack thereof exposed to great penury and want. Besides the violence and woful spoil made upon many, both in city and country, by informers, persecutions, &c.; and for twenty pounds a month, and two-thirds of estates seized into the king's hands, &c.; which will unavoidably force many to shut up shops and leave off their trades and farms, &c. (as some have done already) if not timely relieved.

We therefore, who are concerned in the sufferings aforesaid, do in all Christian humility request, that the king in his princely compassion, will please to take our distressed case into his tender consideration, and afford us relief from these hardships and imprisonments, as he hath formerly done for many of our suffering Friends, which we do thankfully acknowledge; we being sincerely desirous, by the grace of God, to live peaceably and inoffensively under the king and his government.

Wherefore, according as our conversations are found concurring with this our solemn profession, we humbly crave liberty, that we may provide for our distressed families, and be capable of rendering to Cæsar those things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's; according to our Christian principle and persuasion.

We did not only in this manner labour to influence the king with a sense of the general case of our Friends' sufferings, but also were very free and desirous to give him particular and plain instances thereof; in which concern I was many times very free to appear before the king himself; especially when desired to assist such Friends as were concerned for the sufferers, when they have come to London to apply to him in their behalf; and also when we have had certain accounts of great oppressions sent from several parts of the nation, I have been stirred in spirit and desirous to acquaint the king therewith; that he might be inexcusable, and not plead ignorance of the miseries of those his innocent subjects.

In my appearing before the king and council, as by the following account, our Friends Lawrence Steel and Charles Jones, jun. of Bristol, were with me; being come to London on purpose to seek relief or some ease for our Friends, who were then closely confined and crowded in prison in that city.*

* In this time of persecution (1682) Bristol was almost preeminent in suffering. The meetings of Friends were disturbed in the most brutal manner; and by the proceedings against them many families were ruined. So many also were committed to prison, that at length there was no more room in the gaols. About fifty persons were crowded into one room, which was so nasty that one of the aldermen said: "If he had a dog which he loved, he would not put him there." Four physicians of Bristol signed a certificate, declaring that the closeness of the prisoners' confinement and their want of room for rest, was in danger of inducing infectious distempers. The sheriff, however, who was the main actor in the persecution, disregarded all representations; and there appears to have been but little commiseration excited in the public mind, in behalf of the poor Quakers. So desperately wicked was the gaoler,

Being willing to assist them what I' could in solicitation, as I was deeply and compassionately affected toward our said Friends, I acquainted some of the lords of the privy council, as Prince Rupert the lord president, and lord chancellor with the case; and desired we might be heard before the king and council the following council day, which was granted us. Prince Rupert and the lord president appeared most compassionate and tender toward our Friends, when they understood the extremity of their sufferings; and the lord chancellor moderate.

The substance of passages discoursed before the king and council, relating to the extreme sufferings of the people called Quakers, in the city of Bristol. George Whitehead, Lawrence Steel, and Charles Jones, jun. being called in before the king and council, the 17th of the 12th month, 1681-2.

Some question arising about taking off their hats, the clerk of the council, Sir Thomas Doleman, came to the door to take them off, but was forbidden, it was said by the king; so they were concluded to come in before the king and council with their hats on; which they did accordingly.

Some present said: "Go up to the king;" being at the head of the board.

George Whitehead then went nearer the king.

George Whitehead's introductory request.

"That our complaint and suffering case may be heard and considered abstractedly from those religious circumstances we are under, which may seem disgusting to you, that we may have justice done us.

"These persons, Lawrence Steel and Charles Jones, jun. are come from Bristol, on purpose to seek relief of the king from the hard usage our Friends suffer under in that city, beyond the severity of the law, as we conceive.

that when the prisoners complained for want of room, he said to his man, if he could but shut the door it would be well enough.—
See Sewel. *Editor.*

"They are able to speak to matters of fact, from their own knowledge, how our Friends are used; we intreat the king that they may be heard; and for matter of law, we shall leave that for you to judge of."

One in council. "What reason have we to believe their words against other men's oaths, who are sworn for the king?"

George Whitehead. "We intreat that they may be heard, to give their accounts on those particulars complained of in our petition, which is delivered in before you and I suppose read; and then we shall refer the credit of the matters complained of to your consciences, that accordingly we may have justice done us."

King. "Your petition is not now read; would you have it read? It has been read before."

Lawrence Steel. "This contains further matter than what has yet been read before you."

Lord Chancellor. "Of what do you complain?"

Lawrence Steel. "We complain of the havoc and spoil made upon the freehold and tenement, and breaking open closets, boxes, &c."

Lord Chancellor. "What, you mean of the meeting room?"

Lawrence Steel. "Nay, the tenement adjoining to the meeting room; we complain of the rude multitudes haling and tearing women's clothes, and offering shameful incivilities to them; also their pulling an innocent man's coat off his back, and taking money out of his pocket," &c. [Of this, though he had more to speak, they seemed not willing to hear it.]

Lord Chancellor. "Of whom do you complain?"

Lawrence Steel. "We are loath to recriminate persons by name."

Lord Chancellor. "But you must tell us who. Is it the mayor?" &c.

George Whitehead. "Let them have some of their names."

Lawrence Steel. "John Helliard and sheriff Knight, with a rude multitude."

George Whitehead. "It appears that the sheriff and John Helliard, and other officers, have been most busy, and have encouraged the rude multitude in their abusive and riotous proceedings, and forced many to gaol directly from their meeting, at their will and pleasure, without any examination before a justice, or warrant of commitment; and then have so crowded and filled the gaol, that the prisoners have not room to take their natural rest; but some are forced to sit up in the nights."

Lord Chancellor. "What would you have the king do? Would you have him relieve you from the law?"

George Whitehead. "No; we desire the king may relieve us from such irregular proceedings, as we conceive the law does not warrant."

Lord Chancellor. "Why then do you not take course at law, and relieve yourselves by law?"

George Whitehead. "The prisoners and sufferers in Bristol, are disabled from relieving themselves by course of law."

Lord Chancellor. "How are they disabled? What reason can you give that they are so disabled?"

George Whitehead. "Several reasons, as,

"First, they are prosecuted on the Conventicle Act, made the 22nd year of the king; and all the relief allowed us by law, is by way of appeal: and it admits of appeal to no higher court, than the court of sessions belonging to the same county, which is the county of Bristol, where there is no probability of relief upon appeal; because there they must appeal to their adversaries, as some there in authority are; and John Knight, sheriff, is an extreme adversary, and has been violent against them; and he has return of the juries according to his own purpose.—"

King. "Can you not procure a London jury then?" &c.*

George Whitehead. "Besides, if they make their ap-

* Supposed to be meant of the jury that acquitted the earl of Shaftsbury, and some others, upon trial in London.

peal, they are liable to have the oath of allegiance put to them, to prevent prosecuting their appeal; for such kind of precipitant course hath been used against us."

One in council. "He counts the tender of the oath of allegiance a precipitancy," &c.

George Whitehead. "No, it is the manner of requiring it, I mean; when it is done with design to anticipate the appellant and prevent the trial of his appeal.

"Secondly, the riots and abuses that are committed upon our Friends at their meetings, by tearing women's scarfs, beating, throwing persons down, &c. which are done by a rude company that are encouraged by the constables and officers who should keep the peace: so that there is none that will arrest or apprehend the rioters, that we know of, because the officers take their parts and animate them; and the rioters and abusive persons can readily escape in the crowd.

"The third reason——."

King. "And thirdly; let us hear the third reason."

George Whitehead. "The third reason of their being disabled is, for those of our Friends that are committed to gaol; though we conceive their commitment irregular, yet if they should enter actions of false imprisonment against those that committed them, they may be destroyed in their strait and close confinement before they can have relief by a course of law that way; they being so severely kept under hatches by their adversaries, if they should enter actions of false imprisonment against them, that might be an occasion to them to revenge themselves the more severely on the prisoners in the mean time."

One in council. "Seeing the conventicle act admits of no appeal to any higher court than to the same court of sessions for that county, why do you appeal or make your complaint here? what would you have the king do for you?"

George Whitehead. "We desire the king, and you of his council, tenderly to consider our suffering case,

and how far the king may relieve us from those irregular proceedings that shall appear contrary to law."

Lord Chancellor. "You would have the king to relieve you from the law, to interpose between you and the law; which he cannot do."

George Whitehead. "No, under favour, lord chancellor, that inference follows not from what is proposed on our parts; we desire that the king would be pleased to interpose between us and the destruction that attends us, through the irregular and extreme proceedings of those persons, who (whilst they pretend to put the king's laws in execution, and in pursuance of an order from him) exceed all the severity and bounds of the law: our present complaint therefore lies, not against the law or execution thereof simply; but against the mal-administration, the hard usage, and exorbitant proceedings we met with, contrary to all law and justice as we conceive."

Lord Chancellor. "Well, we have heard you; you may withdraw."

George Whitehead. "May it please the king yet to hear me a little farther, that the king and you his ministers may understand how probable the truth of our complaint is against those irregular and erroneous proceedings in Bristol, and how incident the justices there are to commit error in their proceedings against our Friends who suffer there; please to take one instance, viz.

"The most of their warrants of commitment, or mittimusses whereby our Friends are committed to gaol, and whereof we have here copies, are defective and wanting in two material points, as,

"First, the justices do not therein signify their lawful authority, as being the king's justices of the peace before whom the prisoners were brought. And,

"Secondly, their command to the keeper of the gaol for safe custody of the prisoners, is not given in the king's majesty's name, but in their own private names; except that there is one named major, and one William

Bristol; the rest are only in their private or personal names: no mention made in their mandamus to the keeper, that these are in his majesty's name to will and require you, &c. but only they commit them in their own private names. This we conceive is irregular and unwarrantable in law; and this I give only as one instance, to evince the probability of the truth of our complaint, and that those justices are subject to err in their proceedings in omitting such material points."

Lord Chancellor. "Those defects are exceptions pleadable, and they may be heard if they remove themselves by habeas corpus."

L. P. S. "That exception of yours will not serve your turn."

Lord Chancellor. "You may withdraw, &c."

George Whitehead. "May it please the king and you his ministers to observe this one thing, namely, that those officers and rude persons in Bristol, who have done so much violence and spoil to our Friends, pretend power and authority from the king for such their proceedings; and under pretext of an order from the king to put the laws in execution, they take liberty to commit all their disorders and abuses against our Friends, because of their innocent meetings.

"Which being seriously considered, I hope the king will see cause to do himself justice, and likewise you his ministers will be concerned to do yourselves as well as us justice, by putting some stop to these their destructive proceedings, the violence and spoil they make under such pretence of the king's order and authority; pray let it be duly considered, whether or no thereby they do not reflect upon the king, and dishonour him before his people, whilst they render him the patron or mover of these their riotous and oppressive proceedings against the king's peaceable subjects; and whether or no they do not reflect upon you his ministers, tending to render you suspicious in the eyes of the people? I hope, on serious and tender consideration of these things, you will see cause to do yourselves and us justice.

"You have had experience of us, and of our peaceable deportment towards the king and government for above these twenty years; it is very hard we should now be thus severely used at this time a day !

"We have here a more large and particular state of our suffering case, which we desire you to receive and take notice of."

Which case at large, being very fairly written in several sheets of paper, on the one side of each sheet; George Whitehead delivered to the council board, in the king's presence; where it was received and laid down on the board, before the lord privy seal and lord chancellor, &c.

At last George Whitehead thus concluded, viz.

"I pray God preserve the king, and direct you his ministers, to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with God."

I do confess I was under a very weighty concern of spirit, to use my earnest endeavours in solicitation, in this heavy suffering case of our Bristol Friends, who then were sorely oppressed and abused; for it was a time of very hot, resolved persecution against them.

And upon a thorough inspection into their case, and viewing the copies of the warrants of commitment against the prisoners, together with the accounts of the riotous, shameful, and abusive work made against our Friends at their meetings in that city; I clearly perceived both how invidious, inconsiderate, and ignorant of law and justice the magistrates of that city were, who were then most busy against our Friends and most ready to grant warrants against them, either to imprison their persons or seize their goods, thereby to gratify mercenary informers and the worst of persecutors; the great dishonour and reproach of that city, which formerly had been esteemed a place having more of profession and religion in it than many others.

The king appearing affected with the innocency and boldness of my pleading the sufferers' case, allowed me the more liberty to plead it against the persecutors;

and not only so, but he suffered us (Lawrence Steel, Charles Jones, and myself) to stand, and me to plead before him and his council, with our hats on our heads all the time, which was about three quarters of an hour. And indeed the king had the more reason to suffer us in that posture, seeing he would not permit our hats to be taken off by the clerk of the council, when we were called in before him, as we understood; being minded to give himself some pleasant diversion, by trying us in our plainness and simplicity, agreeable to our profession and self-denying testimony.

In the years 1682 and 1683, George Whitehead appears to have been four times convicted under the Conventicle Act. In one of these cases, of which he has left a particular account, on being brought before the lord mayor for having preached at a meeting, this officer, instead of calling for his accusers, enquired of the prisoner *whether he did not preach at the meeting*. George Whitehead declined accusing himself; and on the question being put again by one of the mayor's officers, he again declined; and asked for his accusers. At length two persons who apprehended him were called to give evidence, when the following imperfect testimony was given by them.

A train-band-officer. "I saw his lips go, but heard him not what he said."

Constable. "I heard his voice, but could not tell what he said so as to make sense of it; only I heard him mention Jesus Christ and the Spirit."

George Whitehead desired the lord mayor to notice, how far the testimony fell short of establishing the fact, which was constituted an offence by the act; and expressed a hope, that none would allow that to mention Jesus Christ or the Spirit, was contrary to the Liturgy of the Church of England. The plea of the prisoner, however reasonable, proved unavailing; he was fined twenty pounds, and distraint to a considerable amount was made on his goods.

On a subsequent occasion he was fined forty pounds; (it being the second conviction before the same magistrate;) without having been heard in his own defence or summoned to appear to answer the charges against him. The distraint was made with great violence; the constable, with two assistants, breaking open the back shop door, and several chamber doors; seizing, says the narrative, "beds and bedding, (not leaving him a bed to lie upon,) all, moderately valued, worth twenty-one pounds ten shillings. Then they seized linen, with a scrutoire, six cane bottomed chairs and others, and a large looking-glass, value five pounds eighteen shillings. Then they seized shop goods, currants and sugar, value five pounds twelve shillings; all moderately valued by the owners, amounting to thirty-three pounds. Though the goods so seized were not suffered to be inventoried, weighed, or appraised before being carried away.

"Two of George Whitehead's friends, to wit, John Edge and Joseph Peckover, fairly endeavouring but to persuade the constables to more moderation, and to suffer an inventory of the goods before taken away, were apprehended at the same time, and for no other cause; the constable swearing a riot against them, they were committed to Newgate, and there continued for above ten weeks, to their own and their families' great injury and damage: the said Joseph being a Norfolk man, was near eighty miles from home."

George Whitehead thought it right to appeal against the conviction, under which the last distraint upon him had been made; and he obtained a reversal of the magistrate's judgment. He could, however, obtain the return of only eleven pounds, that being the amount which had been paid into court as the sum made of the articles distrained. In another case, wherein he had been convicted by the recorder of London, he procured a respite of judgment, so that distraint was not made; and he succeeded, on appeal, in establishing the illegality of the proceedings. He observes, that he was

the more willing to seek justice, in these cases, by appeal to a superior court, though at a heavy expense, for the sake of many of his Friends under similar prosecutions, *through the agency of those beasts of prey the informers.*

George Whitehead made a pretty copious selection of passages from the Liturgy of the Church of England, to which he gave publicity, to show that the proceedings of himself and his friends were not *contrary* to it; especially that the assembling together for mutual exhortation and edification, for worshipping God in spirit and in truth, without limitation to time or place, and the liberty of ministering according to the ability received, were recommended in several passages of the Common Prayer Book.

SECTION XV.

Sufferings of Friends confined in Norwich, and endeavours for their release.—Persecution very severe.—G. Whitehead suffers by severe distrains in 1683.—Sufferings of Friends in London, and George Whitehead imprisoned in Newgate, 1684.

The sufferings of Friends confined in prisons still continued to be very great; and in few places, if any, were they more severe than in the city of Norwich; where a considerable number of honest people were closely confined in a low, nasty dungeon, twenty seven steps below the guild-hall of the city.

George Whitehead has given the following account of his own and his Friends exertions for their relief.

On the 22nd day of the 12th month, 1682–3, a state of the case of the prisoners, commonly called Quakers, in Norwich, Gloucester, Bristol, Yorkshire, and Northampton, directed to the king, with request for relief, was delivered into the hands of the earl of Rochester, by George Whitehead, with desire that he would please to show it to the king; which he promised he would.

The 23rd George Whitehead again spake to earl of Rochester, and desired him to show the said case both to the king and duke; which he promised he would do and said: "I will read it to the king this night." George Whitehead told him, that we are advised to deliver Norwich case singly by itself, to the council; which we intend to do this day.

Accordingly the same being the day the judges appeared at council before they went their circuits, George Whitehead and Gilbert Lathey then attending, the case of Norwich suffering Friends was delivered at the council board by Sir Philip Lloyd, who was preen-

gaged to present it and to move the reading of it, which accordingly he did; but was obstructed the reading by some in council, on pretence that it was not a formal petition, or not in the usual form.

The 24th of the twelfth month, 1682-3, George Whitehead and Gilbert Latey went to the lord privy seal, and spake to him about the said case of Norwich prisoners. He told us: That notwithstanding the objection made in the council, the king recommended moderation to the judges when they were below, and enquiry into the state of the prisoners and their usage. This he told us twice over.

A little after George Whitehead and Gilbert Latey had spoken to the lord privy seal, they went up into the gallery to speak with the king, at his coming out of the park: where, after some time of waiting, the duke and his attendants passed by to meet the king; and after a little space, the king and his attendants came along the long gallery towards his lodgings. George Whitehead then stepped up to the king without any interruption, the whole company being civil, and thus proceeded:

"May it please the king to grant us the favour of a few words; it is in behalf of many of the king's peaceable subjects who are prisoners at Norwich, and there like to be buried alive in holes and dungeons."

King. "Can they not swear themselves out of prison?"

George Whitehead. "Under favour, such are not in Society with us. We entreat the king to commiserate this distressed case of the prisoners in Norwich, for they are burying them alive in a dungeon under ground."

King. "Have you a paper? If you have a paper of their case, I will take it."

George Whitehead. "Yes, here is a paper;" which he delivered into the king's hand, and he gently took it.

George Whitehead proceeded: "They are a poor harmless people, poor woolcombers, weavers, and tradesmen, &c. likely to be destroyed in prison, in holes

under ground ; we entreat the king not to suffer these his peaceable subjects to be buried alive."

With more discourse which the said George Whitehead then had with the king ; and I perceived these last words took most hold upon him, viz. my entreating him not to suffer his peaceable subjects to be buried alive.

Gilbert Latey then stepped to the king, saying, " We are the king's subjects that never did any thing against him ; we have been peaceable, and we can truly say, have served him and never were against him ; yet our Friends are great sufferers, and they lie in a dungeon twenty-seven steps deep in the ground in Norwich : wherefore we have the more earnestly sought their relief."

My friend Gilbert Latey, as well as myself, being often tenderly affected with our Friends' deep sufferings and hardships, spake to the king in very tender affection, and a sense of the Lord's power and holy fear ; which reached the king's heart and conscience, and others about him, beyond his utterance or what he could in words demonstrate. G. L. being also freely resigned to accompany me, and, according to his ability, to assist in those exercises and applications in the sufferers' behalf ; and we were often comforted together, and assisted in our endeavours by the power of the Lord, which we had special and very tender regard unto ; and He thereby helped and strengthened us, to his praise and our great comfort and encouragement : glory to his excellent name and power for ever !

After I had earnestly moved the king for relief of our suffering Friends in Norwich, he gave some instructions about the prisoners to the judges, who were to go the Norfolk circuit next following. Accordingly at Norwich, judge Hugh Windham gave order that the prisons or rooms therein should be viewed, where the Quakers were confined, and affidavits to be made thereof before a master in chancery ; which accordingly was done by an attorney, and the affidavits were sent up to

me ; containing a true account of matter of fact, relating to the places where our Friends were so miserably confined.

Whereupon our Friend William Crouch went with me to the said judge Windham, to deliver the affidavits to him ; esteeming him the most proper person to take cognizance thereof, it being obtained pursuant to his order or advice at the assizes before ; that he might acquaint the king therewith. But instead of so doing, or of showing compassion to the sufferers, he refused to receive or accept the affidavits which he himself had ordered ; only he did a little look upon and read them, or part of them, and fell to reproaching the meetings of our Friends, as being riots and riotous, &c. ; when they were forcibly kept out of their meeting-house and met peaceably in the street, and there stood quietly waiting upon the Lord, in a peaceable and inoffensive posture. For so our Friends at Norwich and other places did, as I told the judge ; and that therefore such their peaceable meetings could be no riots, nor riotous meetings, there neither being any show of arms, nor menacing words, nor any violence offered, nor any injury done to the persons or properties of any others.

Upon which discourse the judge seemed offended ; and standing up with his arms akimbo, and his hands on his sides, answered : “ You’ll know the law better than I, I warrant you ; but I will have you know, you shall not be masters over the law, but the law shall be master over you, so long as I live or have to do with the law,” &c.

I answered : “ I will not compare with thee as to knowledge and learning in the law ; thou hast had the advantage of education therein, which I have not had ; yet nevertheless, I have had occasion in my time, to understand something of truth and justice, &c. having been a sufferer myself, on a conscientious account, under the several governments since we were a people, both in Oliver Cromwell’s days and since ; and in all my sufferings and trials, I never saw cause to

change my judgment, or turn with the times ; but rather, through all, to be the more confirmed in what I believe and profess respecting religion."

I also spake further and closely to him, how that he had had an opportunity and power to have done our suffering Friends in Norwich some kindness, in order to their relief ; and withal told him, that he and I, and all men, must give account to the Great Judge of all, for all our actions, and he for not relieving our poor suffering Friends ; or to that purpose. And seeing he would not accept the affidavits before mentioned, so as to deliver the same to the king, I asked him : " What we should do with them ? " He said ; " You may carry them to my lord keeper," that is, North ; which advice, though slightly given, I readily took hold of : having cleared my conscience to him the said judge, who at last carried himself more mildly towards us, than he did in the former part of our discourse.

The next day William Crouch and I went to the said lord keeper, at his house ; and being admitted to him in his closet, I told him, by judge Windham's advice we were come to him with certain affidavits from Norwich, which the judge had given order for, concerning the confinement of our Friends who were detained close prisoners ; and then delivered the affidavits to him. Whereupon he began to accuse our Friends' meetings with being riotous, much after the same manner judge Windham had done. I fairly reasoned the case with him a little while on our Friends' behalf, and after some discourse told him, that we hoped he would present those affidavits to the king, procured by judge Windham's order pursuant to the king's instructions. Whereupon the keeper promised he would deliver them ; upon which I was eased in my spirit, for that the king might thereby see our Friends' hard usage in the gaol and dungeon in Norwich the more confirmed, by such a legal proof as he could not deny. Not doubting the keeper's performance of his promise, we left the case with him and withdrew.

Our labour and solicitation for our oppressed Friends at Norwich held a considerable time, and their suffering was the more prolonged by their persecutor Stebbings, of whose cruelty their chief complaints were ; to excuse and palliate which, his endeavours were to render the sufferers criminal and as obnoxious as he could, aspersing them as obstinate, riotous, &c. thereby to incense the magistrates and government against them ; which gave us occasion to be the more zealously concerned to discover, to his and our superiors, his unwarrantable and inhuman proceedings against the poor, harmless sufferers ; and farther to make application to the king in the sufferers' behalf : wherein my ancient friend Gilbert Latey was willing and free to be concerned with me ; and accordingly we took an opportunity to go to the king.

On the 25th of the second month, 1683, we took boat for Kingston ; but the weather began to be so very stormy and tempestuous upon the river, that we were forced to take in at Wandsworth, and lodge there that night at the widow Springets. Next morning we arose by the time it was well light, and walked to Kingston ; it raining almost all the way. We made some stop at Ann Fielders, at Kingston, till we had a little refreshed ourselves, and dried our clothes ; and then we hastened away to Hampton-court, to meet with the king before he went to council.

As we went along the park toward the court, saw at a distance divers persons standing in the porch, looking towards us ; and one above the rest I observed, who I believed was the king, by his blue ribband and black cap. And not being willing to go abruptly into his presence, to open our case to him without his leave, at a little distance I called to the king, desiring him to favour us with a few words ; which he presently granting, one of his gentlemen came to us, and gently took off our hats and hung them on the pales before the court ; and then we went to the king, who was ready to hear us.

Divers great persons being present at the gate, I proceeded to open our case to him, concerning the continuance of the hard suffering of our Friends in Norwich, in manner following.

First, I reminded the king, that our poor Friends were still continued under great hardships, in gaol, in holes, and a dungeon under ground, and desired that the king, in his clemency, would please to relieve them; further opening their distressed case.

The king answered; "It is against law they suffer so, and I will take care concerning them."

I was truly glad when I heard him give this answer; believing that the complaints which had been made to him of our Friends, hard usage, and the affidavits of others thereof, had such credit and weight with him, that I hoped he would cause them to be released.

The king questioned us about the reason of our not putting off our hats, and using the terms *thee* and *thou* *yea* and *nay*. To which we gave him answer particularly, viz. that if we could put off our hats to any mortal, it should be to the king first; but for conscience' sake we could not to any mortal, but only in our approaching God in prayer. To which the king gave no particular reply.

George Whitehead. "Thou and thee to one person is Scripture language, and the true way of speaking."

Gilbert Latcy. "As Paul did to king Agrippa, *Acts* xxvi. 2, viz. 'I think myself happy, O king Agrippa, because I shall answer for myself this day before thee, touching all the things whereof I am accused of the Jews; especially because I know thee to be expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews.'"
&c.

George Whitehead. "Concerning *yea* and *nay*, we are not strictly tied to the expressions, but sometimes use those of the same signification; as *yes* and *no*," &c.

A great person present asked us: "Why do you call him king? Why do you not call him his majesty?"

George Whitehead. "As he is king he has majesty

belonging to him, it is included; his majesty is his greatness and power."

King. "You should not stand upon things in affectation; the word *you* is now become usual in English; and the word *yeah* is used by seamen, when they call from the top of the mast to be heard upon deck; it is also a Dutch word, who express it *yah*."

George Whitehead. "We affect not singularity in words or behaviour, but desire to demean ourselves in that plainness and simplicity, which we are in conscience persuaded unto."

King. "The words *thee* and *thou*, might have been better translated out of the Greek, *you*," &c.

George Whitehead. "If so, then the translators were as simple as we the Quakers."

King. "Many of your Friends can swear, or take an oath, rather than lose their voices in election."

George Whitehead. "Though some few persons have sworn, who have sometimes gone under a profession, yet they are not in society with us."

Gilbert Latey. "We are as much dissatisfied with such as have done so, as the king can be."

George Whitehead. "We desire nothing to be done to the prejudice or dishonour of the king, nor to join with or promote any interest against the king. The Lord knows our hearts; we have not the least design or desire, for the subversion or change of the government; nor can we reasonably be supposed to have any such design, seeing we were deep sufferers in Cromwell's time, as I myself was: therefore there is no reason we should seek to promote any interest against the king, but only desire, that God in his wisdom may direct and preserve the king, and that nothing may be done or suffered, that may be to the king's dishonour or hurt."

Gilbert Latey. "We would not lose our point that we came to the king for; that is, the case of our distressed Friends in Norwich, to whom we desire the king to show his princely clemency for their relief."

Although it was my friend's care we should not be diverted from our point by other discourse, I was as mindful of that as he could be ; but by the way, I was willing to clear our innocency from jealousies and prejudice, wrongfully suggested to the king against us and our Friends.

In answer to Gilbert Latey.

King. "I will take notice of their case, and care about it, that it shall be called for in council."

George Whitehead. "If there be any objection against us, we pray the king to let us know them, and we hope to give such answers as shall be satisfactory."

The reason of this proposal by George Whitehead was, that we were informed the secretary, Sir L. Jenkins, intended to produce an apology from the sheriffs of Norwich, against the affidavits concerning the gaol and dungeon wherein our Friends were confined; whereupon we attended the council that day, in order to be called in before them, or to hear the result thereof, in our case respecting our said suffering Friends; but we were not called in, nor did we hear of any such apology produced by the secretary, though he was a favourer of our adversary, sheriff Stebbings. It may be supposed, that the king's favourable answers to us, and his confessing their suffering was against law, and promising to take care concerning them, might anticipate and prevent producing any apology against them or their case.

To George Whitehead's last proposal before.

King. "You shall know, I will take care about your business."

George Whitehead. "We gave affidavits to the lord keeper, which we hope were delivered to the king."

King. "Yes, yes; I will take notice of their case, and it shall be called on in council."

Gilbert Latey. "We accept it as a great favour, that we have this admittance to be heard, and pray God to preserve and direct the king," &c.

George Whitehead to the rest of the nobility pres-

ent: "We acknowledge all your civilities and kindness towards us."

George Whitehead to the king as he was withdrawing: "We hope the king will be mindful of our suffering Friends in Norwich."

Howbeit, after so great endeavours and long solicitation, our said suffering Friends were continued prisoners until the next assizes that summer, and then were released; pursuant to the king's promise and instruction, as it was concluded; to the great comfort and relief of them and their afflicted families.

Although with God's assistance, we prevailed with the king for relief in certain extreme cases of suffering, through great labour and solicitation, wherein I was much concerned, in great compassion toward our sorely oppressed Friends; yet hitherto there remained great oppressions and sufferings throughout most counties and cities in England, by divers kinds and sorts of severe prosecutions; insomuch that several of us, namely *George Fox*, *Gilbert Latey*, *Alexander Parker*, *Francis Camfield*, and myself, were weightily concerned to have a general state of our suffering Friend's case drawn up, by way of address or application, to be presented to the king; in order to make him the more sensible of the great oppressions we still were exposed to. And accordingly, I did then take particular care, to have such an application effectually drawn to Friends' satisfaction.

First, the intent whereof was, to clear our innocence from a plot, that was reported to have been against the king and the duke of York.

Secondly, to make the king sensible of our great and long continued, as well as extreme sufferings, for our religious tender conscience towards Almighty God.

Thirdly, earnestly to move the king for our relief.

This address to the king was headed: "The humble address of the people commonly called Quakers."

After denying any connexion with the plots which had

been unjustly attributed to them, they declared their sense of the duty of obedience to magistrates, in all things not contrary to conscience; and that, when for conscience' sake they could not obey, their principle and practice was to suffer patiently, and not to rebel or seek revenge. It concluded with the following appeal to the justice and humanity of the king.

"Our prayers and supplications are to the Almighty, for thy future safety and peace; and that in a thankful remembrance of God's great mercies towards thee, thou mayst be thereby obliged to show mercy, and to relieve the oppressed from these unmerited afflictions and persecutions, which a great number of us thy peaceable subjects do even at this day suffer under, in our persons and estates; not only by laws made against, but also by laws never intended against us. And which is more extreme, divers severities of late have been and still are inflicted; for which no colour or pretence of law hath been or can be alleged; several gaols being so filled as that they want air, and many innocent persons are held under extreme distress, without regard to age, sex, or condition; to the loss of some lives already, and apparent hazard of many more; if not to the endangering infection in divers cities and places in this nation. And many houses, shops, barns, and fields are ransacked, and swept of goods, corn, and cattle; tending also to the great discouragement of trade and husbandry, and to the impoverishing of a great number of quiet and industrious people; and that for no other cause but for their religious worship, and the exercise of their tender consciences towards Almighty God that made them, who is the sovereign Lord of all, and king in men's consciences.

"Therefore we humbly intreat thee, O king, in princely justice, Christian charity and compassion, to open our prison doors and take off our bonds; relieve the innocent and oppressed in thy land, that fear God and in conversation truly honour the king; and suffer not the ruin of such as are quiet in the land, nor the

widow and the fatherless, for their peaceable consciences, to lie at the door of a prince professing the tender and compassionate religion of Christ."

This address was presented to king Charles the Second, at Windor castle, the 8th day of the 6th month, called August, 1683, by George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, Gilbert Latey, and Francis Camfield, and read distinctly to the king and the duke, in the presence of many more of the nobility, &c. by me.

After I had read it, our ancient Friend Francis Camfield, declared a few words very weightily; reminding him of the mercy of the Great God to him, both in his great deliverances, preservation, and restoration; desiring that as the Almighty had shown mercy and compassion to him, in his afflictions and straits, he would show or extend mercy and compassion to his afflicted people; and withal prayed for the king, according to our supplications hinted in the foregoing application: to which he said: "I thank you."

The king at that time appeared seriously affected with our complaint: and soon after we were told by a great person, that he said to a duke that stood by: "What shall we do for this people? the prisons are filled with them." And that the duke, to divert him from his concern therein, drew him into other discourse.

I have been bowed in spirit under a great weight and concern, with earnest breathing and secret supplication to the Lord to assist me, so often as I have had occasion personally to appear before the king, to make application to him on behalf of my suffering Friends and brethren; and my exercise was the greater, when it was difficult to obtain access or to meet with him; which I have divers times very earnestly laboured for, and also to be admitted to appear before him and his council, to plead their cause. And the Lord our God has made way for me therein, and by his power assisted me, in freely and boldly pleading the cause of the innocent for truth and justice, without being any ways timorous or daunted by the face of the king, princes, or

nobles; and in these services, when the Lord has helped me through them, I have felt great peace and comfort, and his presence was with me, enabling me to speak pertinently, and influencing them to hear attentively: praised be the Lord my God!

But though a little relief was obtained, in particular instances, by these applications to the king; he was too much addicted to pleasure to act firmly or constantly, in regard to what he professed to wish; and his profession of tolerant principles being attributed to a desire to screen popery, his apparent disposition to the toleration of dissenters, excited a hostile feeling on the part of many persons, and probably retarded the course of public opinion in favour of religious liberty; nor was this feeling likely to be diminished by the apprehension, that the king was anxious to extend the prerogative of the crown, and that he had actually done so by the suspension of the laws which particularly affected the Quakers. Whatever might be the cause, certain it is, that the sufferings of Friends had never been more extensive, nor perhaps more severe, than in the two last years of the life of this thoughtless and voluptuous monarch.

George Whitehead gives the following description of the state of the Society at that time.

Being shut out of our meeting-houses for divers years, in and about the cities of London and Westminster, and our meetings kept in the streets in all sorts of weather, winter and summer, was a trial and hardship upon us. But that trial was not so great, as to have our estates and livelihoods exposed to ruin by ravenous informers; although it was no small hardship to our persons, to be kept out of doors in the streets, in the great severe and long frost and snow, in the year 1683, for about three months together, when the river Thames was so frozen up, that horses, coaches, and carts, could pass to and

from upon it, and a street also be erected and stand over it.

And yet in all that hard season, when we were so long kept out in the streets in the bitter cold air, I do not remember that I got any harm or injury thereby, although I frequently attended those our meetings in the streets; wherein I took great and serious notice of the merciful Providence of Almighty God, towards myself and many more of our Friends, who were sharers in the same mercy and preservation in that suffering and exercise; no thanks to our unmerciful persecutors: but to our Heavenly Father be the glory and praise for ever!

We had in those days some opportunities to publish the Truth openly in the streets, and also to make public supplication to God; but more frequently were not permitted, but pulled away by force, and either sent to prison or turned into the meeting-house, and there detained under guard until the meeting was ended in the street. Thus were the ministers and others among us often forcibly interrupted, and scarcely suffered, many times, to declare two or three sentences, without being haled away; however, we saw it our duty, in the fear of the Living God, to keep our meetings, and patiently to wait upon Him; wherein we often enjoyed his presence to our consolation, even in our silent waiting upon Him: being not called to strive or contest with our adversaries, or their servants whom they employed, but in faith and patience to bear all; believing that in due time thereby we should obtain victory. It was often then before me, that the Lamb and his faithful followers should have the victory, which was matter of secret comfort to me many times: glory to his name for ever!

In those days I clearly saw, that the testimony required of us to bear, was not so much in words, declaration, or ministry, as to stand our ground in faith and patience, and to travail in spirit, with secret breathing and earnest supplication unto God to plead our cause; it being his own cause for which we suffered: and

therefore we patiently committed it to Him that judgeth righteously.

In the year before the king's decease, I and divers other Friends were still desirous he should be made sensible what great sufferings were still continued upon our Friends, both by imprisonment and spoil; and our Friend William Mead and others of us, being concerned the king should be at least acquainted and moved thereupon, the same was done; and by the king's authority, direction given to the sheriffs of the counties respectively, throughout England, to return the names and causes of our Friends then prisoners; an account whereof was given to the king, by way of petition and information: a general memorandum whereof follows.

The 15th of the 11th month, 1683, George Whitehead and A. Parker attended the king, to present the general suffering of our Friends, both in prison and out of prison, by way of petition. In the afternoon we met with the king in the long gallery, and presented the petition; which he received, and George Whitehead spake a few words to him on this wise:

"We intreat the king to excuse our importunity, for our extremity is the cause; we pray the king tenderly to consider our suffering condition and afford us relief, accounts being returned from the sheriffs of our Friends in prison," &c.

To which he answered: "Well, well, well."

And perceiving the king then in some haste, George Whitehead told him: "If he pleased, we would acquaint the Lord Sunderland (being secretary of state) more fully with our case, that he might inform the king thereof," &c.

To which the king answered: "Do, do."

But alas! the king's time was but short; he was then near his end, and did not live to relieve us, either by opening the prison doors or removing the great oppressions and severe persecutions we then suffered, and which he left us under; his opportunity being slipped and day over and gone.

I think I was the last Friend that spake to the king, to move him for relief from our sufferings but a few weeks before his end. He left about fifteen hundred of our Friends, both men and women, prisoners; besides their being then eagerly followed and persecuted by wicked informers; and many hundreds under heavy oppression and sufferings, for twenty pounds per menssem, and two-thirds of their estates seized, and great spoil made upon them in many counties and parts of the nation. We were still kept out of our meeting-houses in the streets, both in and about London and divers other places; which persecutions and sufferings were continued upon us for some time after king James the Second came to the throne, and until he was prevailed upon to afford us some relief and liberty. All which we have cause to ascribe principally to the overruling Power and Providence of Almighty God; in whose hands the hearts of kings and princes are: and He can turn them like waters. To Him be the dominion and praise of all for ever!

In the year 1684, George Whitehead being taken at a meeting in White Hart Court, in the act of prayer, was for a short time confined in the prison of Newgate, under an indictment for being engaged "*in an unlawful assembly, riotously and with force of arms!*" The recorder evinced his usual severity; but George Whitehead observes, that some of the magistrates of the city of London were men of more moderation than the recorder; and the sheriff, Sir Samuel Dashwood, soon sent an order to the keepers of Newgate, to discharge him from his imprisonment; which was thus of only about sixteen days' continuance.

He thus expresses himself, on reviewing the sufferings to which he had been exposed in the few previous years.

"I humbly thank the Lord, my Heavenly Father, and praise his worthy name, in remembrance how He enabled me to be resigned to his will, in suffering both

in person and estate; and how well my dear wife was given up to suffer with me, for the blessed Truth's sake, in those days. But the Lord our God supported and comforted us under those trials; as we were with one accord resigned to his will, to bear faithful testimony for his holy name and ever living Truth, which He had made us partakers and witnesses of. Blessed be his glorious Name for evermore!"

SECTION XVI.

Suffering state of the Society at the death of Charles II.—Representation of it by an interview with king James II. and address to him.—List of the sufferers—Second interview with the king, and full representation of the Quakers' case addressed to him and to the parliament—The king grants a general warrant for the release of the prisoners.—Commission granted on George Whitehead's application to the king to inquire into the dishonest practices of the informers—Their suppression—One of them in distress applies to George Whitehead, and is relieved by him.

The period of the death of Charles the Second, appears to have been the extreme point of suffering to the Society of Friends. Notwithstanding his character for good nature, and the frequent expression of his intention to relieve them, they were persecuted to a great extent, under the laws made against Papists in the reign of Elizabeth; whilst the immediate objects of those statutes were, under the king's favour, enjoying comparative liberty. Probably the worshippers of UNIFORMITY would not have been satisfied without some victims for their idol; and it was no doubt more agreeable to the king to sacrifice the poor nonconforming protestants, than to allow the insane fury of the people to fall upon his immediate friends.

The prisons of England were crowded with honest and industrious people, whose only crime was a tender conscience, and against whom it might truly be said, that *no occasion was found, except concerning the law of their God.*

No less than FOURTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY of the people called Quakers were at this time in the prisons of England and Wales, in many places crowded together without respect to age, sex, or circumstance, in cold and filthy holes and dungeons, where many had died, and faithfully earned the crown of martyrdom.

Not a few of these were fathers and mothers of families, which were thus left destitute of their natural guardians and protectors : indeed it is difficult to say whether the suffering within the walls of the prisons, intense as it was, was not exceeded by that endured by the numerous relatives and friends of the prisoners. The cruel separations of husbands from wives, and fathers and mothers from their children, were generally preceded or accompanied by robbery and spoil, and not unfrequently the entire ruin of the family as regarded their means of outward support. The true order of government was directly inverted, governors being a terror to those who did *well* rather than to those who did *ill*.

Apologizing to the reader for these introductory observations to the present chapter, I proceed to give the substance of George Whitehead's account of his own and his friends' proceedings, immediately after the accession of James the Second to the English crown.

Much fear was now entertained as to what would become of protestant dissenters, many anticipating an increase of persecution, under the government of a professed papist. George Whitehead however, whose elastic mind never seemed to sink, had a lively impression which he communicated to his friends, that they should have ease under this king's reign ;—and certainly he spared no pains to bring it about.

A few weeks after the death of Charles, he presented to his successor, in company with Gilbert Latey and Alexander Parker, the following truly courteous but unflattering address.*

“ TO KING JAMES THE SECOND.

The humble Application of the people called Quakers.

“ Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, by whom

* Echard in his history has given a very different but altogether spurious address to the King. The object of the composition appears to have been to place the Quakers in a ridiculous light.

kings reign, to take hence the late king Charles the Second, and to preserve thee peaceably to succeed, we thy subjects heartily desire, that the Giver of all good and perfect gifts, may please to endue thee with wisdom and mercy, in the use of thy great power, to His glory, the king's honour and the kingdom's good. And it being our sincere resolution, according to our peaceable principles and conversation, by the assistance of Almighty God, to live peaceably and honestly, as becomes true and faithful subjects under the king's government, and a conscientious people, that truly fear and serve God, we do humbly hope, that the king's tenderness will appear, and extend with his power, to express the same; recommending to his princely clemency, the case of our present suffering Friends hereunto annexed."

The case of the suffering Friends referred to in the petition, contains so simple and affecting an account of their situation that it is well worthy of perusal.

"The distressed case and request of the suffering people commonly called Quakers, humbly presented.

Showing,

"That according to accounts lately given, above fourteen hundred of the said people, both men and women, are continued prisoners, in England and Wales, only for tender conscience toward Almighty God that made them.* Many under sentence of premunire, and many near it, not for refusing the duty or substance of allegiance itself, but only because they dare not swear; others under fines on the act for banishment; many on

* The following list of the number of prisoners in each county is curious, as showing the wide spread of the society at this time throughout England and Wales. We have no means of ascertaining the total number, but large as it no doubt was, the number of sufferers, including the families of the prisoners and those who suffered the spoil of their goods, must have formed a large and affecting proportion of the whole Society. No doubt also, such was the

writs of excommunication ; besides some hundreds have died prisoners, many by means of this long imprisonment since the year 1690, as it is judged ; thereby making widows and fatherless, and leaving poor innocent families desolate, in distress and sorrow. These two hard winters' confinement tending also to the destruction of many in cold holes and gaols, their healths being greatly impaired thereby : besides, the violence and woful spoil made by merciless informers, on the conventicle act, upon many convicted, unsummoned, and unheard in their own defence, both in city and country. As also on Qui Tam writs, and other processes, for twenty pounds a month, and two-thirds of estates seized for the king ; all tending to the ruin of trade, husbandry, and industrious families ; to some not a bed left, to

sympathy as well as courage of this branch of the Church of Christ at that day, that it might be almost said : "Whether one member suffered, all the members suffered with it."

An account of the number of the said prisoners called Quakers, in the several counties.

Bedfordshire	30	Leicestershire	37
Berkshire	37	Lincolnshire	12
Bristol	103	London and Middlesex	66
Buckinghamshire	19	Norfolk	52
Cambridgeshire	8	Northamptonshire	59
Ely	11	Nottinghamshire	6
Cheshire	9	Oxon	17
Cornwall	32	Salop	18
Cumberland	22	Somersetshire	36
Derbyshire	1	Southamptonshire	15
Devonshire	104	Staffordshire	1
Dorsetshire	13	Suffolk	79
Durham	39	Surrey	29
Essex	10	Sussex	17
Gloucestershire	66	Warwickshire	31
Hertfordshire	18	Westmoreland	5
Herefordshire	1	Wilts	34
Huntingdonshire	10	Worcestershire	15
Kent	16	Yorkshire	279
Lancashire	73	Wales	30
TOTAL		1460.	

others no cattle to till their ground, or give them milk, nor corn for bread or seed, nor tools to work withal. And all these, and other severities done under pretence of *serving the king and the Church*, thereby to force us to violate our consciences, and consequently to destroy our souls, which we are very tender of, as we are of our peace with God and our own consciences, though accounted as sheep for the slaughter. And notwithstanding all these long sustained extremities, we the said people do solemnly profess and declare, in the sight of the Heart Searcher, that we have nothing but good will and true affection to the king, praying for his safety, and the kingdom's peace. We have never been found in any seditious or treasonable designs, as being wholly contrary to our Christian principles and holy profession.

"And knowing that where the word of a king is, there is power, we in Christian humility, and for Christ's sake, intreat that the king will please to find out some expedient for our relief in these cases, from prison, spoil, and ruin.

"And we shall, as in Christian duty bound, pray God for the king's welfare in this world, and his eternal happiness in that which is to come.

"London, 2nd of 1st month, called March, 1684-5."

Between three and four months after the first interview, no relief being yet obtained, George Whitehead was "deeply concerned in Spirit" to go to the king, to give him further information, and to endeavour to persuade him to put a stop to the ruinous persecutions. Acquainting his Friend Robert Barclay with his intentions, (for whom the king had a particular respect, having known him in Scotland,) he was willing to unite in the application; and they appear to have readily obtained admittance into the king's presence.

George Whitehead took the principal part in this interview; from his account of which I select the following passages:

George Whitehead. "We thankfully acknowledge

the king's favour in granting us this admittance. Having acquainted the Lord Peterborough with our great sufferings by informers, &c. in and about London, he promised us to acquaint the king therewith; which we hope he did, for he said, 'he had acquainted the king with our desire, that he would speak to the recorder, that a stop might be put to the informers,' &c. And further told us, 'that the king promised to send for the recorder, and speak to him himself, and that we should shortly feel the effects.'"

King. "The Lord Peterborough did speak to me, and acquainted me with it: I have not as yet spoken to the recorder, but intend to speak to him to-morrow; I'll send for him into the prince's lodgings, and speak with him about it: therefore do you put me in mind of it, when I go into the House of Lords to-morrow."

George Whitehead. "The late king, after his coronation, gave out his Proclamation of Grace, to release our Friends out of the gaols throughout England; upon which many hundreds were released.

"And in the year 1672, the late king gave out his Declaration of Indulgence, for the liberty of tender consciences; and his Letters Patent, (or pardon,) under the great seal, to release our Friends out of prisons: whereupon we had liberty for some years."

King. "I intended a general coronation pardon; but the reason why it was deferred until the meeting of parliament, was, because some persons who are obnoxious, by being in the late plot, would thereby have been pardoned, and so might have come to sit in parliament; which would not have been safe. But I intend that your Friends shall be discharged out of prison. I was the cause of drawing up that Declaration, and I never gave my consent to the making of it void: it was the Presbyterians who caused it to be made void or cancelled in parliament."

George Whitehead. "The imprisonments, as also the great spoil made by informers, is still very hard upon many in and about London, and other parts: five war-

rants at once have been executed upon one person, amounting to fifty pounds, being ten pounds a warrant. We intreat the king to put a stop to these informers; for many are greatly disabled by them, and about giving over their trades and shops; although we are as willing to pay our taxes and civil duties to the king as any other people. And by the close imprisonment of many, even here in London, in Newgate gaol, divers of our Friends have been so suffocated, that they have been taken out sick of a malignant fever, and in a few days died.

King. "I intend your Friends shall be released out of prison; and I'll consider of a way how to stop the informers: but they having a part of the fines, I must consider which way I may best take to stop them and ease you:" or to the very same effect.

George Whitehead. "We have just exceptions against the Conventicle Act itself, in divers clauses."

Robert Barclay. "Convicting men behind their backs is contrary to the law of nations."

George Whitehead. "And then the awarding treble costs against the appellant, in case he is cast in the trial of his appeal, but no costs against the informers, nor any provision made that they shall make any restitution to the party grieved, in case they be cast or nonsuit in their unjust persecution; this appears very unequal.

"We are inclinable to present an account of our sufferings to the parliament, wherein we desire the king's favourable concurrence, and therefore thought meet to acquaint the king first with our intention; for we are willing and desirous that he should be acquainted with all public applications we make to the parliament."

King. "What is it?"

George Whitehead. "It is a plain account of our sufferings in matters of fact, of the same kind with that which we lately gave to the king, with some reasons offered for the repeal of the Conventicle act."

King. "Let me see it, and I'll give you my opinion concerning it."

George Whitehead. "We intend to show it the king. And we humbly and thankfully acknowledge the king's favour, in admitting us thus far to be heard."

The account alluded to in the foregoing conversation, was addressed: "To the king and both houses of parliament, the suffering condition of the peaceable people called Quakers, only for tender conscience towards Almighty God, humbly presented."

It stated: "That of late above one thousand five hundred of the said people, both men and women, having been detained prisoners in England, and part of them in Wales, some of which being since discharged by the judges, and others freed by death through their long and tedious imprisonment, there are now remaining, according to late accounts, about one thousand three hundred eighty and three, above two hundred of them women."

It then proceeded to state the grounds and nature of the sufferings, much in the same manner as had been done in the account presented to the king immediately after his accession;* and after enumerating the particular statutes under which they chiefly suffered,† the document proceeds as follows:

"Many, both men and women, have been fined, im-

* The list of sufferers is given at page 84, as a note.

† The 5th of Eliz. chap. 23, De Excommunicatio Capiendo.

The 23rd of Eliz. chap. 1, for Twenty Pounds per Month.

The 29th of Eliz. chap. 6, for Continuation.

The 35th of Eliz. chap. 1, for Abjuring the Realm, on pain of Death.

The 1st of Eliz. chap. 2, for Twelve-Pence a Sunday.

The 3rd of king James I. chap. 4, for Premunire, Imprisonment during Life, and Estates confiscated.

The 13th and 14th of king Charles II. against Quakers, &c. Transportation.

The 22nd of King Charles II. chap. 1, against Seditious Conventions.

The 17th of king Charles II. chap. 2, against Nonconformists.

The 27th of Henry VIII. ch. 20, some few suffer thereupon.

prisoned, and detained for non-payment, some till death, on indictments at common law, for riots, breaches of the peace, &c.; instance the city of Bristol, what a great number have been these divers years straitly confined and crowded in gaol, mostly above one hundred on such pretence, about seventy of them women, many aged. And in the city of Norwich, in the years 1682-3, about seventy kept in hold, forty-five whereof in holes and dungeons, for many weeks together; and great hardships have been and are in other places: so that such our peaceable meetings are sometimes fined on the Conventicle act, as for a religious exercise, and other times at common law, as riotous, routous, &c. when nothing of that nature could ever be proved against them, there being nothing of violence or injury either done, threatened, or intended, against the person or property of any one whatsoever.

“The during and tedious imprisonments are chiefly on the writs *De Excommunicatio Capiendo*, upon the judgment of premunire, and upon fines said to be for the king.

“The great spoil and excessive distresses and seizures, are chiefly upon the Conventicle act, and for twenty pounds a month, two-thirds of estates, and on *Qui Tam* writs. In some counties, divers have suffered by seizures and distresses above eight years past; and writs lately issued out for further seizures in several counties, for twenty pounds a month, amounting to the value of many thousands of pounds; sometimes seizing for eleven months at once, and making sale of all goods and chattels, within doors and without, both of household goods, beds, shop goods, moveables, cattle, &c. and prosecution hereupon still continued, and in divers counties much increased: so that several, who have long employed some hundreds of poor families in manufacture, and paid considerable taxes to the king, are greatly disabled from both, by these writs and seizures as well as by long imprisonments. So many serge

makers, of Plymouth, as kept above five hundred poor people at work, disabled by imprisonment: many in the county of Suffolk, under a long imprisonment, sentenced to a premunire; one whereof employed at least two hundred poor people in the woollen manufacture, when at liberty. Omitting other instances, that we may not seem too tedious, these may evince how destructive such severities are to trade and industry, and ruinous to many poor families.

"Be pleased to make our case your own, and do to us as you would be done unto: as you would not be oppressed or destroyed in your persons or estates, nor have your properties invaded and posterities ruined, for serving and worshipping Almighty God, that made all mankind, according to your persuasions and consciences, but would, no doubt, enjoy the liberty thereof; so we entreat you to allow the same liberty to tender consciences, that live peaceably under the government, as you would enjoy yourselves; and to disannul the said Conventicle act, and to stop these devouring informers, and also take away all sanguinary laws, corporal and pecuniary punishments, merely on the score of religion and conscience; and let not the ruin and cry of the widow, fatherless, and innocent families lie upon this nation, nor at your door; who have not only a great trust reposed in you, for the prosperity and good of the whole nation, but also do profess Christianity and the tender religion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Having thus given you in short, the general state of our suffering case, in matter of fact, without personal reflection; we, in Christian humility and for Christ's sake, intreat that you will tenderly and charitably consider of the premises, and find out some effectual expedient or way for our relief from prisons, spoil, and ruin."

George Whitehead and Gilbert Lathey waited upon the king, previous to their presenting the address to the parliament, to receive his sanction; which he freely

gave :* and having now become fully acquainted with the severe persecution under which the Society laboured, he was pleased, says the narrative, "to grant a comprehensive warrant or commission to the then attorney general, Sir Robert Sawyer, on our suffering Friends' behalf; including the several sorts of processes and convictions under which many of them suffered."† This order was dated 15th of March, 1685-6, little more than a year after the king's accession.

George Whitehead gives the following account of the proceedings to carry into effect this joyful release.

When this warrant was granted and delivered to us, the attorney general, Sir Robert Sawyer, was not in London, but near forty miles from thence, at his country house at Highcleare, in Hampshire; and Friends in London being very desirous that our Friends in the several prisons throughout England, &c. might forthwith be released: it was concluded that two or three of us should take a journey to the said attorney general, and deliver him the aforesaid warrant from the king; and then in the first place, to obtain a warrant or liberate thereupon, to discharge and release our Friends in and about London.

John Edge, Rowland Vaughan, and myself were desired forthwith to undertake the journey to the attorney general, for that service. At that time I was but weakly in body, and so much indisposed as to my health, that I thought myself very unfit for that journey, for I then kept my chamber; howbeit, they not being willing to go without me, I was in the greater strait, and after a short consideration was persuaded, and concluded to

* Gough thinks the sudden prorogation of parliament prevented the address from being presented to it.

† Sewel, without referring to this special order for the discharge of the Quakers, attributes their relief to a proclamation of pardon, issued soon after the king ascended the throne; yet he quotes G. Fox's letter on the occasion, addressed to Friends, and which is dated four months after the commission to the attorney general.

go with them if possibly I might be enabled to perform the journey.

Whereupon my dear friend Theodore Ecclestone lent me a good easy horse, and I being weakly, we were part of two days and the morning following before we reached to the attorney general's, who civilly received and entertained us, when we had produced the king's commission to him; and we quickly persuaded him to give instructions to our then companion Rowland Vaughan, to draw up a warrant or liberate to release our Friends, who then were prisoners in London. And according to his instructions, Rowland drew up several warrants to discharge our Friends out of prison, which the attorney general signed that day; and to get them done he would have us stay dinner, so it was the third or near the fourth hour before we could get all done and signed, to come away thence; insomuch that it was within night before we got to Theal, about four miles beyond Reading, where we staid at an inn that night, and the next day came to Brentford; before which time I was recovered in my journey, and was so well that I could travel much better than when I left London; wherein I thankfully observed the merciful Providence of God, in affording me health and ability beyond expectation.

In a short time the attorney general returned to London, to his office in the temple, where I attended him (with Gilbert Latey sometimes) to sign the rest of the warrants; which according to his direction, Rowland Vaughan prepared for him to sign, to discharge the rest of our Friends out of prisons throughout England, so far as he had power given him by the commission aforesaid. This took us up considerable time to attend to and see effected, and the prisoners by degrees released; for we had something to do to obtain the warrants for release of our Friends in some places, especially at Bristol; the town clerk having detained our Friends there in prison for non-payment of his demands: which occasioned our complaint against him

to the king; and on my debating the matter with him before the attorney general, he was persuaded to submit the matter to our Friends' courtesy and freedom, and was desirous that I would let him have the attorney general's warrant to discharge our Friends when he returned to Bristol; and accordingly I intrusted him with the warrant; whereupon he got them released out of prison.

Thus, though many had died in confinement, were a great number of worthy confessors for the Truth, liberated from their severe imprisonment of ten, twelve, and fifteen years; and permitted to return to the bosom of their families and the Church.

Great however as was the ease, the sufferings of the Society were by no means at an end. The clergy in general appeared decidedly unfriendly to toleration, and a great number of magistrates, especially in London and Middlesex, encouraged a set of vile informers, to whom the poor Quakers were a constant prey. George Whitehead now exerted himself earnestly, to induce the king to put a stop to the proceedings of these merciless creatures.

His exertions in this business were very successful. He inserts in his memoirs a petition to king James, which was signed by several of the sufferers, stating the cruelty and illegality of the proceedings against them; that they were frequently convicted "in their absence, and often on false depositions sworn by concealed informers"—that warrants against them were issued out by the recorder of London, "which were executed with great rigour and spoil, and without compassion to widows, fatherless, or poor families, who were sustained by their daily industry; not leaving them a bed to lie on:" that when they appealed from the recorder's judgment, he being judge also on the trial, altered the record, and urged juries to find against the appellant; by which they incurred heavy charges and treble costs. Besides these grievances, the petition

stated, "that numbers were imprisoned and crowded in gaol by him and others, for the same cause, to the greatly impairing of their healths and the loss of some lives."

After this complaint had been presented, George Whitehead addressed the king, requesting him to appoint commissioners to hear them and the informers face to face, that they might have a fair opportunity to prove the matters of fact complained of against them. The king granted this request, and issued a commission accordingly, which was delivered to George Whitehead without fees. He, and some of his friends, prosecuted this matter very efficiently. They delivered the commission to two persons who had been nominated as the investigators of the affair, and who authorized George Whitehead to issue summonses to all persons whom he wished to be brought before them. Having collected and fairly stated about fifty cases of unjust proceedings on the part of the informers towards Friends, he accordingly issued his summonses to the several parties.

On the day appointed, a great company of informers were collected at Clifford's Inn, doubtless under feelings of no little chagrin; but when they saw a large number of the usual objects of their prey, coming forward to charge them with injustice and cruelty, before commissioners who would give an impartial hearing to both parties, they seemed ready "to gnash upon them with their teeth."

Two justices of the peace, who had incurred the high displeasure of the informers, by refusing to grant warrants against some Friends, or to convict them in their absence, were present at the inquiry, at the first meeting of the commissioners.

George Whitehead proceeded very methodically in his charges, beginning with those cases in which informers had sworn falsely, producing each Friend's case in order, and calling upon the parties concerned in each to appear together. Numerous cases were fully esta-

blished, in which the informers had sworn against Friends for being at meetings which they were not at ; also for holding meetings at certain places and houses, where no meetings had been held ; and they were also proved to have sworn upon trust, from one another's false and presumptuous information. These several cases of false swearing, occupied six *broadsides* ; and there were numerous cases of excessive distrainments, accompanied by force and violence. So many instances indeed, says George Whitehead, " we gave to the commissioners on the first day, of the horrid abuses of the informers, that they seemed almost weary with hearing them ; matters of fact being evidently proved against the informers to their faces, and to their great shame and confusion." At the first meeting they did not get through one-fourth of the charges ; and a subsequent meeting was held, at which, though they did not get through half the cases, the commissioners thought they had ample grounds on which to form their report to the king. George Whitehead wished them, seeing the charges of false swearing and violence had been so fully proved against the informers, to discourage or stop their further proceedings ; but this the commissioners thought was without their province.

The informers were of course greatly enraged against George Whitehead ; and they so threatened him, that some of his friends were afraid of their doing him a mischief. He was however no way intimidated : " I told them," says he, " that I feared them not ; nor what they could do ; for I was bound in conscience to make them manifest to the government : they should not deter me, by their threats, from appearing before the highest authority against them."

George Whitehead had several interviews with the commissioners, in which he laid before them the cases which had not been inquired into. On one of these interviews they showed him, at his request, the draft of their report ; when he was surprised to find, that instead of stating the plain matters of fact, in regard to

which they had to inquire, they had given their opinion *as to an easier way of dealing with the Quakers in future.* George Whitehead remonstrated with them, for thus deviating from the points on which they were directed to report to the king; when "one of the commissioners told him how hardly they were put to it to draw up their report, being sent to out of London, by some great person or persons of the Church, and much requested to report nothing which might disable the informers, or put them by from their great service to the Church!" George Whitehead however pleaded for justice being done to them, by a report as to matters of fact being made to the king; and the commissioners did materially amend their report in consequence.

Some further information was given to the king relative to the cases, in a letter; in which, having referred to the mal-practices of the informers, as stated in the report of the commissioners, the Friends concluded by earnestly entreating the king to put a speedy stop to the cruel proceedings against them. Our author, with all his coolness and moderation, seems unable to repress the feelings of his virtuous indignation, against the system of plunder allowed to be carried on under pretence of law, by the informers. "A company," says he, "of loose, irreligious, profligate wretches, have been encouraged and suffered to plunder, rob, steal, break houses, commit burglary, tear away and make havoc and spoil of their neighbours' goods, to serve the Church and King! What Protestant age or church can parallel such barbarities and cruel persecution? How scandalous to church and state were such agents!"

The scandal however was on the eve of being removed. Whether the king was sincere or not, in his professions in regard to liberty of conscience, Divine Providence was pleased so to overrule events, as tended to the ease of the suffering members of Christ's Church, who dissented from the established worship. "The king," says the memoir, "was at last induced so far to afford us relief from those devourers, by signifying his

pleasure to some of his subordinate ministers, magistrates, &c. to put a stop to the destructive persecution and spoil, made upon us by the informers." "Their unjust trade and gain being discountenanced by the justices and the quarter sessions, in London and Middlesex, as well as other parts of the kingdom, and discoveries made of their wickedness and injuries, some of them were forced to fly; and others turned to beggary."

As during the severe sufferings which they had been called to endure for conscience' sake, the Friends had exhibited a remarkable instance of Christian patience; so also, when their enemies, the mercenary informers, became destitute, did they exhibit a no less striking instance of Christian forgiveness.

The Friends, though they had been so severely impoverished by the proceedings of the informers, did not hesitate to supply the wants of these worthless creatures in their destitution. George Whitehead gives an instance of this kind in his own case. "After the trade of informing was over," says he, "George Hilton, a notorious informer, came to my house, complaining to me that he was to be a servant to a great person, but wanted clothes, or money to buy him some; whereupon I gave him something, being willing to render good against evil; he having been a very injurious adversary against myself, and many others of our Friends; however, I was comforted that the case was so well altered, as that from taking away our goods by force, these poor wretches were fain to come and beg of us." Thus did these Christians heap the coals of charity upon the heads of their enemies.

SECTION XVII

The state of Society in other parts of the nation.—Two meeting houses seized and used by the soldiers.—Application to king James respecting this and other cases of suffering.

The suppression of the wicked trade of the informers, though a very important step, was far from closing the sufferings of the Society, or the labours of many of its members, to obtain complete liberty of conscience. They wisely proceeded step by step in pointing out their grievances, and pressing them one after another upon the notice of the public, and of the highest authorities of the land.

Though the general pardon of the king had some effect in discouraging persecution, yet it did not alter the law; and a great number of Friends were at this time severely oppressed, and many of them greatly impoverished, by being charged or estreated in the exchequer, and by writs annually issued out thence against them, for seizure to be made on their goods and estates, under the old act against popish recusants; by which they were fined *twenty pounds a month, and two-thirds of their estates*, for their monthly absence from their parish churches; and thereupon their corn, cattle, and other goods were seized by the bailiffs; “seizing,” says the memoir, “for eleven months, twenty pounds a month, which amounts to two hundred and twenty pounds forfeiture in that time; the sottish, rude bailiffs, when they had seized on farmers’ goods, remaining at their houses, eating and drinking until the goods were removed.”

From the continued application of these cruel laws to the poor QUAKERS, who were the very *antipodes* of the PAPISTS against whom they were originally made, it is quite evident that the spirit of persecution was still

strong in the country. King James however, who had sheltered the real objects of this law, even more effectually than his brother had done, on being applied to by some Friends for a stay of proceedings, found it at least consist with his policy to grant the request; and "was pleased to give directions to the lord treasurer and attorney general, that the exchequer writs should not be issued out on that occasion." A respectful petition was then drawn up, addressed to the lord treasurer, praying that he would issue his warrant to the proper officer, the clerk of the pipe, for the staying of processes against the persons named in a list subjoined, who were under exchequer prosecution, and whose number amounted to several hundreds. The lord treasurer immediately granted the requisite order; and George Whitehead gives the following account of the subsequent proceedings.*

I was very industriously concerned, to obtain such a warrant for a speedy stop to be put to the said processes, which were then ready to be issued forth of the said pipe office in Grays-Inn. I had something to do, first with the treasurer's deputy, and clerks of the treasury chamber, about their high demands of fees, which we could not answer: whereupon I made complaint to the lord treasurer himself; and he was so kind, as to cause them considerably to abate their demands, and to accept of what we could give; I remember our friend Samuel Waldenfield kept me company at that time; so the warrant was delivered to me.

After this, Rowland Vaughan went with me to the clerks of the pipe, with our warrant to stay process, who seeing a long list of names annexed to the war-

* The proceedings in this and many similar cases related in this work, strikingly illustrate, by contrasting them with the present state of things, the progress which has been made in the administration of justice, the establishment of the constitutional rights of the people, and the diminution or more careful exercise of the royal prerogative.

rant, were upon very high demands for fees, amounting to many hundred pounds, they demanding a considerable fee for each, which we could no ways come near. They were very huffing and high toward us, though we civilly treated them, threatening if we did not pay them the fees demanded, that the writs should be issued out to the sheriffs of the several counties, to seize upon our Friends' estates; and to be sure it would be done to purpose, for, say they, this was like to be the last time, seeing process was to be stopped; so that if the writs then went forth, they concluded they would be the more severely executed, and fall heavier upon the convicted than ever. Such like threats were to affright us into a compliance with their unreasonable demands of fees: which we neither would nor could do; whereupon we parted at that time.

Being much toiled, weakened, and impaired in my health, by attending, soliciting, and labouring for our Friends' relief in that case, I was taken suddenly ill, so that I was forced to keep house a few days; yet still the burden of Friends' sufferings lay so heavy upon my spirit, and care to have them relieved by a stay to the said process, that I forthwith sent to divers Friends, to let them know how the case stood with me, and how far I had procured and brought forward the case of our suffering Friends, in order to their relief from the exchequer process; particularly I sent for my companion Gilbert Latey, at Kingston, who quickly came to London; and I acquainted him and our loving friend William Mead, how our case stood as to the clerks of the pipe refusing to stay the process unless they had the fees they demanded; whereupon I desired the said Gilbert Latey and William Mead to go and treat with those clerks, and see what they could bring them to. At last they brought them so far to abate their demands, as to come down to those Friends' terms, and accept of what they proffered, that is, about sixty pounds, instead of the many hundreds demanded; though it was not without complaining that they were

so much deprived of what they esteemed their proper fees and dues.

That stay of proceedings, obtained with great care and industry, prevented the ruin of some hundreds of our suffering Friends in their respective counties, and saved many thousands of pounds in their estates. I had great peace and comfort in the Lord, in that He made me any way useful in helping our Friends from those heavy persecutions and oppressions; blessed be the Lord my God! who greatly helped me to serve Him in helping his people.

Another case of hardship and suffering, which befel the Society, in regard to two of their meeting houses, next engaged the attention of this unwearied advocate. It is thus stated in the memoirs :

About the 3rd month, 1685, the soldiers came and made the meeting house at the Park, in Southwark, a guard-house, and did great spoil and damage about and in the same, by pulling down pales, digging and cutting down trees, carrying away and burning them; and also the wainscoting and benches about the room, and they carried away one of the out-doors, and many of the casements; and when the soldiers drew out to the camp, they left the house open for any body. Whereupon John Potter, the then owner, entered again, and made up the outward door, and some other necessary repairs, and had a survey of the damages done, which amounted to about forty pounds.

The soldiers returning from the camp, again possessed themselves of the place, and kept their guard therein for some time, in manner following; viz. on the 22nd of October 1686, a quarter-master belonging to colonel Hailes' regiment, came to the chambers of the said John Potter's tenants, and demanded entrance; which being denied, the quarter-master, with the help of soldiers, broke in, handed away their goods, and turned out three aged women to another house; and when they had taken possession of our said meeting house

and rooms below, they pulled down the galleries, and made a brick wall across the lower room, with many other alterations, as if they intended to have the sole and perpetual possession to themselves; having made a sort of place for prayers, or a mass house, in one end, inclosed from the rest by the said partition wall; notwithstanding the said John Potter, the owner, showed his lease and title to the premises several times to the said colonel, and his quarter master; by which they understanding his right and title, the colonel asked him if he would sell, and what he would have for it. But that he could not yield to, knowing what other use the lease was intended and used for; the low room being our meeting place, he could not in good conscience shut his Friends out of the same.

But being by force kept out of our meeting house and property, as before related, we had no other way to have the same restored, but by application to the king; and also for our meeting place at the Savoy, in the Strand. Whereupon myself and my friend Gilbert Latey were desired to attend the king; unto which we gave up, I being prepared to vindicate our property, especially in our meeting house at Park aforesaid. When we had sent notice to the king of our desire to attend him in this case, and that he would please to appoint the time when, he granted our request therein.

On the 1st of the 10th month, 1686, Gilbert Latey and myself went to Whitehall, and attended some time when we had sent word up to the king of our waiting for admittance. After some time he came down to us, and the said colonel Hailes only with him.

After I had a little introduced and opened our case to him, how our said meeting house at Park was detained from us, I found that he had been misinformed and prepossessed; as if that meeting house and others were forfeited to him on the Conventicle act. I presently showed him the mistake; for by that act the owners' houses where meetings were held, were not forfeited, but they fineable; the penalty was fines, not forfeiture.

of houses ; and yet, as I told him, I hoped he would not take advantage against us upon that act, seeing he had intimated his opinion was for liberty of conscience, from persecution.

He farther alleged, that John Potter had given his consent to part with the said house for a compensation ; as also the colonel affirmed, having given the king in his hand the notes he had taken out of John's lease, showing the conveyance of the title from one to another, till it was settled on John Potter. But the king told me, (as the colonel had informed him,) that since John had assented to part with the said meeting house for a compensation, we had had a meeting about it, and that our Friends had persuaded John not to sell it.

To all which I gave answer, that John Potter never appeared of that mind to us, as to sell it. I farther told him, that divers of our meeting houses in London were seized, and the broad arrow set upon the doors, pretendedly for the king, in the reign of king Charles the Second, and particularly our meeting house in Grace-church street ; where the mayor, &c. encouraged a priest of the Church of England, to read their mass or liturgy and to preach ; which was such a wonder that a priest should come and read Common Prayer and preach in a Quakers' meeting, that people did so numerously gather and crowd into and about the meeting, that afterward at another meeting, the priest came to be so affrighted with their crowding and noise, that he got away and forbore coming again to read or preach in our meeting house.

The king smiled at my mentioning their mass, because I presume he understood that the book of Common Prayer was much of it taken out of his mass book.

Having taken notes out of our Friends' lease of the said meeting house at Park, I demonstrated the title, and pleaded the property against the said colonel Hailes's pretensions or claim to it.

After pretty much discourse upon this matter, the king several times gave this answer : " I am resolved to

invade no man's property or conscience." And he told us, that he would look further into the title and inform himself, but that at present he could not spare the place because of his guards.

Our friend Gilbert Latey spake also to the king about the Savoy meeting house; our Friends being there kept out in a cold yard, for many weeks, by the guards. Whereupon Gilbert requested the king to grant our Friends their liberty to meet twice a week; it being winter time, and hard for ancient people to stand abroad in the cold. The king did not refuse his request, but was pleased to delay it for a time, for further consideration.

However our solicitous endeavours in God's power and counsel, took such effect upon the king, that in a few weeks after, he caused both our meeting houses aforesaid, viz. at Park and Savoy, to be restored to us.

Before we parted from the king that time, I mentioned to him our Friends' great sufferings in Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, by Smith the informer, and two or three petty justices that took his part; and I entreated two or three lines from the lord Sunderland to the duke of Newcastle, to put a stop to the said informer. The king freely granted my request, and two or three times promised to speak to the lord Sunderland, to write to the duke of Newcastle for the same purpose. After which one of the lords of the council, at my desire, undertook to procure a letter forthwith, from the earl of Sunderland, pursuant to the king's promise before mentioned. Our Friends, and John Edge also, were concerned to attend the result thereof; insomuch that through the power and help of the Lord our God, in our endeavours, a general stop to those persecuting devourers, the informers, was obtained, to the great comfort and relief of our suffering Friends throughout the nation; whom I was greatly comforted in serving to the utmost of my ability.

George Whitehead now felt himself concerned to visit

the king, to encourage him in the good work he had begun in regard to liberty of conscience, and to intimate the good effects which he apprehended had arisen from it. He also wished to lay before him some cases of suffering at Leeds in Yorkshire; and he and Gilbert Latey obtained admittance into the king's presence, on the 14th of 10th month, 1687. The king appeared glad to see them, and the substance of their discourse was as follows.

George Whitehead. "We are glad to see the king, and heartily wish the king health and happiness and a happy and prosperous reign, and that his government may be easy to him in all respects, that is, to himself and the people."

King. "I thank you; and for your parts, I believe well of you and your Friends, and that you do wish me well."

George Whitehead. "I desired to have attended the king some time since, but that a long journey this summer into the north parts of England, and some sickness since, prevented. We have daily cause to bless God for the mercy we enjoy under the king, as being made instrumental in the hand of God therein, and daily to pray for the king's preservation.

"In this late journey I have been as far as Cumberland; and other parts of the north of England, and find the good effects of the king's declaration for liberty of conscience, and how well it is received by all good people, by all who are sober, moderate, and rational."

King. "It is well received by all good Christians I am sure."

George Whitehead. "And I find persons of understanding and quality, do commend the king's prudence and conduct therein. And many innocent families, who have been sorely distressed by the late persecutions and hardships they have been long under, have received such relief through the king's clemency, that they find cause daily to pray for the king; and to him may justly apply the words of that just man Job, in this case, re-

specting the justness of his proceeding, and to say of the king: 'Thou hast broken the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth.' *Job* xxix. 17. And farther, that by thy declaration for liberty of conscience, thou hast yielded submission to the great God, and granted and given to Him his due therein, namely, that God may rule and bear sway in men's consciences, whose sovereign right it is to reign and bear rule therein: 'And when the Lord reigns, let the earth rejoice; and when the evil beasts of prey are made to cease out of the land, the earth shall yield her increase:' according as God's holy prophets have testified."

King. "It is very true."

George Whitehead. "Let liberty of conscience be vindicated or maintained, and the good effects thereof will appear more and more," &c.

King. "I am resolved to maintain it as long as I live, and make it as firm as a magna charta, and more firm, if possible; that it may remain for the benefit of future ages, and that posterity may not have cause to alter it."

George Whitehead. "Whenever the king shall please to call a parliament, we do heartily wish it may be such a parliament as may concur with the king's clemency, according to his declaration for liberty of conscience, and confirm it by a law;* and for our parts, I hope we shall contribute our endeavours, so far as argument and reason will go, or may prevail, to persuade them to confirm it and give it the sanction of law, and repeal those penal laws which are against that liberty."

King. "You have a right to election of members of parliament: I would have your Friends to have a care, that they do not give their voices for such that are against liberty of conscience."

George Whitehead. "It concerns us all to have a

* This was on occasion of something spoken by the king, in a former discourse to the same purpose.

care of that; it is certain there can be no free parliament, upon a general and free election, whilst the oaths of supremacy and allegiance and tests, are made the qualifications of all members of parliament; for such qualifications admit none to be members of parliament, but such as are strict Churchmen for conformity. Whereas a mixt or more equally chosen parliament, are most likely to consider all interests, and to establish liberty of conscience; which those penal laws allow not."

King. "Those laws and qualifications are against property, and destructive to it," &c.

George Whitehead. "By a mixed parliament I meant, consisting of Dissenters and of such Churchmen as are against persecution; as the grand jury at Hertford as-sizes, who stopped all the presentments against dissenters for twenty pounds a month, some time before the king's declaration for liberty of conscience came forth. This mixed grand jury appeared a fit instance or example, as I thought, in this case relating to a free parliament," &c.

King. "You know when I was duke of York, how envious many were against me, and how monstrously they pictured me in their pamphlets, to render me odious to the nation, and what a dangerous successor I should be, &c.; but in point of Christianity, I freely forgive them all."

George Whitehead. "That is a great point of Christianity and charity indeed, freely to forgive injuries, and is generous and noble; and I am truly glad to hear so much from the king. It is true the duke of York was such a formidable person in the thoughts of many, that they greatly feared and were jealous of his succeeding: but now, since come to the crown, he has given such open demonstration of his clemency and good will to the people, as has convinced many of their mistake therein, and given them cause to lay aside their former fears and jealousies of that kind."

King. "I was always of the same judgment for li-

berly of conscience, that now I have declared publicly: I remember when, about twenty years ago or above, I was at Tunbridge, though I never drank the waters, there was one Owen, John Owen, a dissenter,* who had a mind to speak with me, but was or seemed something bashful or fearful of coming to me, until some acquainted me therewith; and then I gave him liberty to come and speak with me, and told him my opinion, that it was for liberty of conscience as I have now declared," &c.

George Whitehead. "I have heard as much a great while ago, from Edward Waller, Esq. who is lately dead; he signified to the same purpose, concerning the duke of York's being of that opinion for liberty of conscience, long since," &c.

Gilbert Lathey. "That which the king has signified secretly he has now declared openly, to the comforting the hearts of many thousands, who truly bless God for the king's kindnesses, and return hearty thanks to the king for the same; and for all the kindnesses thou hast shown to us, the Lord reward thee, and return thee a thousand fold into thy own bosom."

King. "I thank you heartily."

George Whitehead. "I have one particular case from Leeds in Yorkshire, which our Friends desired me to acquaint the king withal; and that is, the magistrates of Leeds, in the late persecutions, were more severe to our Friends than any magistrates in all the county of York besides. At Leeds, they have not only imprisoned them and endeavoured to banish them out of the land, having prosecuted them in order to banishment, on the statute of the 13th and 14th of the late king, which extends to imprisonment and transportation, but also

* Dr. Owen. The king little thought that in the company of this *one Owen*, he conversed with a man whose name would stand much higher in the respectful remembrance of posterity than his own, and whose writings were likely to be read with interest, so long as the English language remained to be the vehicle of Christian instruction.

Editor.

they took away their goods from their religious meetings, and do still keep the goods of one person or more unsold, and refuse to restore the goods to the respective owner or owners when desired by our Friends concerned. Wherefore we entreat the king to speak to the lord president, to write two or three lines to the mayor and alderman of Leeds, to cause them to restore the goods to the respective owners." And thereupon George Whitehead delivered the case in writing to the king.

King. "I'll do it; I'll speak to my lord Sunderland to write as you desire." Which accordingly he did, and an order was the next day taken out for restitution of the said goods.

George Whitehead. "We thankfully acknowledge the king's kindness in this case also," &c.

Gilbert Lathey. "We pray God reward the king into his bosom, for all his favours and kindnesses, and grant him, if it be His will, long life and a happy reign here, and a crown of immortal glory hereafter."

George Whitehead. "We sincerely desire it," &c.

King. "I thank you heartily."

The liberty given by king James II. to his dissenting subjects was, in the year 1687, confirmed by a general declaration for liberty of conscience; by which free leave was given to all to meet and serve God after their own way and manner, whether in private houses or places purposely provided for that use; and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, for not coming to Church, or any other nonconformity to the established religion, were suspended by the king's sole authority. Although in this declaration the king expresses his wish, that all his subjects were members of the Catholic Church, yet he says:

"We humbly thank Almighty God, it is and hath of long time been our constant sense and opinion, which upon divers occasions we have declared, that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in mat-

ters of mere religion : it has ever been directly contrary to our inclination, as we think it is to the interest of government ; which it destroys by spoiling trade, depopulating countries, and discouraging strangers ; and, finally, that it never obtained the end for which it was employed."

George Whitehead appears to have placed confidence in the king's sincerity ; and perhaps he also thought, if the king succeeded in gaining admission for many of his Romish friends to offices even in the Established Church, that he would be able to support his views in regard to liberty of conscience.* "As for us," he says, "the people commonly called Quakers, and our ministers, having no such revenues as tithes, hire, or wages for preaching to lose, our Gospel being free, we were not so afraid of popery or a popish prince and clergy, as those who enjoy those great revenues which the popish Church and priesthood claim, and would gladly possess.

"The king having often seriously declared liberty of conscience to be his principle and persuasion, and we who had long deeply suffered partaking thereof, especially in the latter part of his reign, had great reason to be the more easy and thankful that we had some

* It had been too obvious that the name of a protestant establishment was no security against one of the worst features of popery—*persecution* ; and had the king succeeded in his wishes, it is highly probable that, in the state of parties, he could have supported himself only by a general toleration of his protestant subjects ; it was not, at any rate, surprizing, that those who had suffered so severely under the protestant establishment, should take this view of the subject, and perhaps underrate the danger which attended the king's designs. There is no doubt however, that many members of the Society, at that time, viewed with serious alarm the consequences to the country of the establishment of a *popish prince and clergy*, and who sincerely hailed that ever memorable providence, by which the truly protestant William and Mary were placed without bloodshed on the throne of England. To their reign, as Besse remarks in the preface to his book of Quaker Sufferings, "was reserved the glory of establishing to protestant dissenters, a general liberty of conscience in religious worship." *Editor.*

relief from those extreme hardships we had long suffered under.

“Howbeit, the king’s aforesaid declaration not having the sanction of an act of parliament for confirmation and continuance, we did not think our liberty secured to us thereby, any more than it was under the reign of his brother, king Charles the Second, but uncertain and precarious as it was before; when we had only that king’s specious promises and declarations, which lasted but a little while, and were soon made void by the parliament and himself, and the many persecutors let loose upon us again, because the same liberty granted was not passed into a law.”

George Whitehead does not think it his business to treat of the particular causes of the king’s removal from the throne; they are, says he, “matters of state and government.” He piously refers the whole affair to the counsels of “the Divine Majesty, the Searcher of Hearts, by whom the intentions and designs of men and princes are foreseen and known, who rules over the kingdoms of men and gives them to whomsoever He will.”

SECTION XVIII.

Proceedings in the reign of William and Mary—Respecting the act of toleration.—The case of Friends suffering for contempts, &c.
 —The obtaining of an act for the admission of the solemn affirmation of Friends instead of an oath.

George Whitehead introduces his account of his own and his Friends' proceedings in the early part of the reign of William and Mary, with the following review.

The great and merciful providence of the Lord God Almighty towards us his people, is worthy to be for ever remembered. He gave us not over to the will of our enemies, who often breathed out cruelty against us, threatening our ruin and desolation; blessed be our God! who hath frustrated their cruel designs and restrained the remainder of their wrath, and contrary thereunto hath carried on his own work and prospered the same, to his own praise and his people's comfort; causing all to work together for good, to all them who truly love his Name and Power: blessed for ever be the same!

Although for the space of about twenty-five years, from 1660 to 1684, we had but small respite from some kind of persecution or other, notwithstanding the liberty of conscience so often promised and declared from the throne; yet the Truth lost no ground, but gained through all. The persecution time was a seed time, for the Truth and Gospel of Christ Jesus which we suffered for, and the faithful grew and multiplied. The good seed of the Gospel being sown and planted, the same increased and spread even in those suffering times, which neither the devil nor his instruments could ever root out. That Divine Presence attended us in our many deep sufferings, which reached and tenderly af-

fecting many hearts and souls, as they beheld and observed the patience and innocence wherein the Lord sustained us in our many trials and sufferings, whereby many were not only moved with compassion to us, but also to enquire after the Lord and his Truth, the cause for which we patiently suffered. As the more Israel was afflicted and oppressed under Pharaoh in Egypt, the more they multiplied and grew; so as the Lord's people have been persecuted and oppressed in this Gospel day, the more their number has increased and they multiplied; wherein still the merciful providence of Almighty God has appeared, to frustrate the evil designs of ungodly persecutors and wicked men.

And moreover, it is very remarkable and memorable, how the Lord God by his wisdom and power has appeared and wrought for his people, in gradually making way for that liberty of conscience so greatly laboured for; insomuch that the understandings of many in outward government, even of the supreme in authority, have been so far enlightened, as to see that liberty from persecution is not only most equal and consistent with a Christian spirit and temper, but also with their own safety and the peace of the government and nation. Yea, I have heard it declared by a great person of the Church of England, as in the name or person of the Church, viz. "Neither we nor you are safe without the toleration." And many that have formerly had a hand in persecution, are now willing that former sin of theirs should be covered, that they may be esteemed sincere for liberty of conscience against persecution. Others, even persons of note, have gloried and seemed to rejoice, in that they never had a hand in persecution, nor signed a warrant against any of us; it being generally, by men ingenuous and sober, deemed scandalous, or a brand of infamy, to be accounted a persecutor.

Hitherto then as the Lord our God hath been graciously pleased to help us through many deep sufferings, hardships, and trials, He hath also been at work in the

hearts of men in power; and in order to give his churches among us rest, He prepared the heart of the government, after the revolution, to allow us the sanction of a law for our liberty, together with other dissenting protestants, respecting our religious exercise in our public assemblies.

And therefore now I may give some brief account of the said act, and how I and others of our Friends were concerned about the same. It commonly goes by the title of "The Act of Toleration;" but the real title is, "An Act for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws." Anno primo Gulielma & Mariæ.

The preamble is, viz. "Forasmuch as some ease to scrupulous consciences, in the exercise of religion, may be an effectual means to unite their majesties' protestant subjects in interest and affection, be it enacted," &c.

This act contains much of the substance, and divers clauses of the bill, entitled, "A bill of ease to all Protestant Dissenters;" which was endeavoured to have been passed by the parliament in king Charles the Second's time, 1680 and 1681, but not effected either in his reign, or in his brother's succeeding, as before related.

After a bill was brought into the parliament in order to the aforesaid act, entitled, "An Act for exempting their majesties' protestant subjects," &c.; divers of our Friends, with myself, had great care and concern upon our minds, that it might be effectual and clear, without being clogged or perplexed with any snare in it; so that we might be truly eased from persecution, and our religious liberties be uninterrupted.

Some of the terms in the said bill, required of protestant dissenters to prove themselves Christians, were, viz. "That all such who profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, coequal with the Father and

the Son, one God, blessed for ever : and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to be the revealed will and word of God."

Although we knew when the parliament had thus granted liberty of conscience to dissenting protestants, in religious exercise, grounded upon this or the like reason, namely, for the increase of Charity among Christians, and that no person or persons professing the protestant religion, although dissenting from the Church of England, should be disquieted or called in question for the same, that it was very fair and plausible : yet to prevent any such from being stumbled or ensnared by some expressions in the aforesaid profession or creed which appeared unscriptural in the said bill, we, instead thereof, did propose and humbly offer, as our own real belief of the Deity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, viz. "I profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God, blessed for ever : and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to be given by Divine Inspiration."

This declaration John Vaughton and I delivered to Sir Thomas Clergis, who, with some others, were desirous we should give in such confession of our Christian belief, that we might not lie under the unjust imputation of being no Christians, nor thereby be deprived of the benefit of the intended law for our religious liberty. We were therefore of necessity put upon offering the said confession, it being also our known professed principle, sincerely to confess Christ the Son of the Living God, his Divinity, and as He is the Eternal Word ; and that the Three which bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, are One : One Divine Being, One God, blessed for ever.

Moreover, the said Sir Thomas Clergis, being satisfied with our confession aforesaid, delivered unto him, moved for the same before a grand committee of the whole house of commons, mentioning some of our names from whom he had the said confession ; whereupon we

were called into the house, and some other Friends, as William Mead and John Osgood, that the committee might have our confession from ourselves, and the parliament be the better satisfied therewith in hearing us : so that I had then occasion to answer the committee very clearly and to their satisfaction, both as to our really owning the Deity, and the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as given forth by Divine Inspiration. The last being most in question, we gave them such plain and clear satisfaction, both as to the holy doctrine contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and to the historical parts thereof, as being preserved by Divine Providence to us, that I clearly perceived our confession and testimony had such influence and effect upon the spirit of the parliament, that it made for the furtherance of the said bill, in order to bring it into an act.

Some of the members would have had it made but a temporary act, for three years ; in which I opposed them, and showed the unreasonableness of such a limitation of our religious liberty, urging that it ought to be perpetual. So after much labour and attending on our parts, the bill was passed.

Although under the early reign of king William the Third, we had so far obtained liberty by law, as to enjoy our religious meetings for the worship of God peaceably ; yet there remained many of our Friends prisoners, and under prosecution by priests and others, for nonpayment of tithes, and many of them detained in prisons, chiefly upon contempts, as their term is, for not answering upon oath to the priests' bills and complaints, &c.

These cases being considered among us, after I had impartially stated and drawn them up, our Friends agreed to have them presented to the king, that he might both understand their cases and suffering, for not paying tithes and not swearing.

Our Friends thereupon desiring me to present the case to the king, and to take with me three or four of

our Friends whom I pleased, that were free thereto, I accepted of that service; being always willing to serve and help suffering Friends, as I had been in the two king's reigns before, according to my ability, and as the Lord was pleased to enable me.

Whereupon I desired my ancient companion in solicitation, Gilbert Latey, with Thomas Lower the doctor, John Taylor of York, my late brother-in-law, and our friend Daniel Quare, to accompany me to the king. Daniel Quare, being known to the king, which the rest of us then were not, we sent him in to procure our access into his presence. The king enquired of him "who we were, and in what station or places among our people?" Daniel told him, "We were ministers and elders among us."

The king then sent for us into a little private apartment, where he was alone, and I presented our case, which I desired him favourably to accept: which he did. He enquired of us, what places we belonged to, or to what congregations we did minister? Which gave me good occasion to answer him, "that we were not settled as ministers or pastors over any particular congregations, but visited our Friends' meetings in divers places, as the Lord inclined us; for we do not make a gain of our ministry; we do not take stipends or hire for preaching; but preach the Gospel freely, according to Christ's command to his ministers; 'Freely ye have received, freely give,' &c." The king gave no reply, but appeared very serious, and satisfied with my answer.

I proffered to read our case to him; he said, "Nay, he would read it himself;" seeming rather willing to hear us in discourse, than read at that time.

I thereupon acquainted him, that the chief of our Friends' sufferings then was, because they cannot make their answers to the priest's suits for tithes upon oath, which for conscience sake they refused in any case; and no less for conscience' sake do they refuse the payment of tithes, whereby the priests take great advan-

tage against our Friends, to run them to contempts and imprisonments, and to make seizures upon their goods and estates, &c. wherefore we had applied to the parliament for relief in the case of oaths, that they might not be imposed upon us in any case; we offering to submit to the penalty of perjury, in case any of us were found false or corrupt in our evidence or testimonies given without oath. But our application to the parliament had not taken effect as desired, it being sometimes prorogued or otherwise dismissed, before we could get our case through both houses.

This our case of conscience in refusing to swear, I told the king, was the same with the people's called Menists in the Low Countries, as it was a matter of conscience to them; to whom his predecessors gave liberty that their word, in attesting the truth in courts, &c. might be accepted instead of an oath, which is what we desire; and therefore when we might see it a season to apply again to the parliament for relief in this case, I desired the king to stand our friend, and favourably to recommend our case to some leading members of parliament; which he seriously promised he would do.

And accordingly he did perform his promise, as we had account from some of the friendly members of parliament; one of whom in particular told me, he was present with the king and one of the house of lords, and heard them discourse about the Quakers; and how the king pleaded on their behalf, contrary to some objections that lord made against them; which were, that they were disaffected to the government. And that the king answered him: "My lord, I am not of your opinion; for there is an honest people among them." This much the said member, Sir John Austin, told me.

I also remember in the discourse I had with the king, when I answered him in several things before mentioned, relating to our conscience and Christian testimony, he made this objection, viz.: "You are a

divided people." I told him: "No; as we are a people we are not divided, but in union: although there are some who have separated or gone out from us, and therefore are not of us, as there were of old some who separated and went out from the primitive Christians; yet we remain a people in unity, that is, of the same faith and profession." To which our friend John Taylor added; "Such as turned into separation or division from us, were some disorderly persons, who therefore were denied by us:" or to that very effect. And I farther added: "That I had known the people called Quakers from the first; and, as a people, they were still the same as to faith and principles, which allows not of division or separation."

The king replied to this effect, viz.: "But some among you are disaffected to the government."

I answered: "It is a hard matter for us to enter into the private affections of persons, without some overt act; we do not know that any of our Friends have manifested disaffection to the government; for if we did certainly know that any of those in communion with us, should by any overt act, in word or deed, show any disaffection to the present government, we should certainly disown them therein, and give testimony against them. It is true, we have of late been aspersed, and misrepresented with such nicknames as Meadites and Pennites, as if we set up sect-masters among us: yet we own no such thing; but Christ Jesus to be our only Master, as we are a Christian society and people." The king appeared well satisfied with my answer, and with the rest of our discourse; being very serious in his attention to the matters proposed unto him.

I must confess I had very great satisfaction and freedom of spirit, to open divers weighty matters relating to our principles and testimony; and I had therein the more freedom, because he was seriously attentive to hear and receive information concerning us.

Near the conclusion I proposed to the king, that inasmuch as the Lord keeper, viz. the lord Somers,

knew the laws, and how far the king might safely extend his prerogative, particularly in the case we had delivered, if he pleased we would deliver him a copy thereof, that he might be the better prepared to give advice in our case, what way the king might release our Friends, who were prisoners upon contempts, as set forth in the said case. The king answered: "You may deliver it, (that is, a copy,) to him; for I'll speak with my lord keeper about it." After our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the king's kindness to us, and our suffering Friends, we withdrew.

The next day, or soon after we had been with the king, our friend John Edge went with me to the said lord keeper, with a copy of the case, which I thus introduced when I gave it: I told him we had presented the case to the king, and having heard a good character of thyself, (I being then little acquainted with him,) we made bold to mention thee to the king for counsel in this case, how our Friends who are prisoners upon contempts might be released; and the king told us, he would speak with the lord keeper about it.

The lord keeper took it kindly, showing not only his own desire our suffering Friends should be released and enjoy their liberties, but also freely signified to us, that the king was really for liberty of conscience to dissenters, and that it was his real principle; which we were very glad to hear from him, being a person of honour and credit.

In a very short time after the case of the suffering Friends had been presented to the king and lord keeper, there came out an act of grace, in the year 1695, pardoning contempts, &c. whereupon about forty of our Friends were discharged out of the prisons.

Though the prisoners were then set free, the laws by which they had suffered remained in force, and would doubtless soon have supplied the prisons again, if successful means had not been used to obtain a law by which the affirmation of Friends might be received

instead of an oath. The time seemed now arrived when such a proposal might be safely made to the legislature by the Society; and George Whitehead, as usual, appears to have taken the most active part in the solicitation of the measure. He inserts in his memoirs a very particular account of the proceedings.

A case was drawn up, stating clearly the grounds of the Society's scruple against oaths, namely, that it was purely a case of conscience, resting on their understanding of Christ's words; which in common with many ancient martyrs in the early periods of the Christian Church, they believed to forbid swearing in all cases. They declared themselves ready to answer the just and good ends of law and government, as a peaceable people fearing God; stated the grievance under which they laboured from refusing to swear, both in their persons and estates; and concluded with the following request, viz.: "That in all cases where *oaths* are imposed and swearing required, our word, that is, our solemn affirmation or denial *as in the fear and presence of God*, may be accepted instead of an oath; for which we humbly offer and freely submit, that if any be found false in such their affirmation, that then such penalty be inflicted on the person so offending, as law and justice require in case of false swearing or perjury."

It is evident from the statement made of the grievances endured by the Society on account of their religious scruple, that they must have more or less affected nearly all its members; and their patient and unostentatious suffering under their remaining trials, is a valuable testimony to the continued faith and piety of the Society.

They were disabled from recovering debts by legal process; from defending their titles and properties; from being witnesses in courts of judicature; and from proving wills or taking administration. Their young men were not allowed their freedom in cities and corporations, when they had served their apprenticeships; and in many places they were debarred the exercise of their right as

freeholders, in the election of magistrates and members of parliament.

A petition embodying a brief statement of their case and wishes, was presented to the house of commons on the 7th of the 12th month, 1695. It was followed by a motion for leave to bring in a bill, that "*the solemn affirmation and negation or denial of the Quakers, might be accepted instead of an oath, &c.*" The motion was carried by a large majority: "Whereupon," says George Whitehead, "many of the members came out to us, with great joy, love, and tenderness, and showed their satisfaction that they had so well gained the point for us."

George Whitehead gives the following account of his and his Friends' proceedings in this important business.

Leave being given to bring in a bill, according to our petition, several draughts were prepared; the first by counsellor Conyers, which was something long, yet he took some pains in it, to answer what we requested in our petition, particularly about our solemn affirmation, &c. to be accepted instead of taking an oath, and to exempt us from swearing. In his bill, he stated the matter, that the Quakers should solemnly declare the truth, in like manner and form of words, as are used by all other persons who are required to declare the same, except only the attestation thereof upon oath; that is, the words swear, and, so help me God, &c. to be omitted. But then to make our attestation, affirmation, or negation, so solemn as was expected from us by the parliament, in courts of justice, &c. it was the opinion of most of our friends in parliament, that there must be some solemn or sacred expressions, religiously respecting God, as solemnly to declare the truth in his presence: which we durst not gainsay, least we should be deemed atheistical; it being our principle, that God is omnipresent, and omniscient also.

However, as in a multitude of counsel there is safety,

we discoursed the point with several ingenuous men of the house of commons, that we might proceed with what safety and success we could. We went particularly to Sir Francis Wynington, an ancient, able counsel, who greatly stood our friend; and we showed him counsellor Conyer's draught of the said bill, which, upon perusal Sir Francis judged much too long, and that it would be the more tedious and difficult to get it through the house, into an act; adding this reason, that it had better be too short, than too long, that the committee might have the amending of it, and then they would be the more willing to pass it; whereupon he drew up a short bill, but would not insert therein the bare words, yea or nay, for attestation in courts of justice: and to offer the same in the house of commons, in a bill, for an act of parliament, his opinion was, would be laughed at, or ridiculed and rejected.

Many others were of the same mind, that such expressions, or terms, must be offered in the bill, as might appear solemn, or sacred, whether in affirmation or negation; as to declare, in the presence of God, to an answer or evidence, &c. Their forms of oaths, and swearing, having been of such long standing, and such great stress and obligation laid upon them, for many hundred years, that it was a very difficult point, and a great thing to gain any such variation from them, as conscientiously to declare, or affirm, in the presence of Almighty God, instead of the imprecation oath, of, "so help me God;" and the ceremony of handling, and kissing the bible.

To obtain such a great alteration from an oath, and imprecation, to a plain solemn affirmation, as before, was indeed a great point, as many of our Friends were very sensible of, and thankful for, when it was gained.

The bill as drawn up by Sir Francis Wynington, was read the 17th of 12th month (February) 1695, the first time. Read again the 3rd of the 1st month, 1695, a second time, and committed; the same day the com-

mittee met. For its being committed 130 votes, against it 68; more for it, than against 62.

The 4th of the 1st month, the committee met again and passed the bill. The 10th of the 1st month, ordered it to be engrossed; and the 13th day, the bill passed the house of commons, by 146 voices for it, and 99 against it; 47 more yeas than noes; and the same day it was carried to the house of lords, where it was read twice; but the opposition some members of that house made to us herein, did occasion our longer attendance, and labour to inform them rightly of our case, and the necessity of our being relieved. Upon my reasoning with divers of the peers who had opposed us herein, I did so far convince them, that they were changed in judgment and opinion concerning us, and did appear for us in this our case; insomuch that I was daily sensible, the hand of the Lord our God, that was with us in our industrious endeavours, made way and did work for us therein.

To Him be the glory of all for ever!

To incline the house of peers to grant relief from our sufferings for not swearing, our case was reprinted, and presented with several reasons subjoined; and among others, this following, viz.

We also propose to your serious consideration, that this moderation to persons scrupling to swear, hath had good effects in our neighbouring countries, as above one hundred years' experience hath manifested, in the following instance: on the 26th day of January, 1577, Guillaume de Nassau, prince of Orange, and stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, &c. with the consent of the government and council, sent his mandate to the magistrates, commanding (on behalf of the people called Menists, who refused to swear in any case) that their yea should be accepted, and taken instead of an oath, they being subject, in case of falsifying the truth, to the pains of perjury.

In the year 1593, prince Maurice, son of the former prince, with the consent of the states, gave forth a pla-

card or mandate, in behalf of the Menists, to the same effect, &c.

Upon these passages of the Menists having this liberty to be exempted from taking an oath, upon their yea, there was this quotation in the margin of the second impression, viz. "G. Burnet's History of the Reformation in the Low Countries, part I. p. 587, 588."

Whereupon some of the temporal lords told me, that the bishop of Salisbury had taken occasion to exclaim against the Quakers openly, in the house of lords, for falsely quoting his name as author of the said history. Whereby I was somewhat surprized, and told the lords I would make enquiry about the mistake; and quickly searching the first impression, found it to be a literal mistake of the printer; for in the first, it is G. Brant's history, not Burnet's. I went the next day and showed the same, as first printed, to two of the said lords, that is, the earl of Carbery, and earl of Marlborough, desiring them to call the said bishop out, that I might show him where the mistake was; which they did, and then I plainly showed the bishop, that it was a literal mistake of the printer, and that the Quakers could have no design to misrepresent him in the quotation; neither could the literal mistake be any great disparagement to him, to be rendered the author of such a noted or esteemed history of the reformation. And therefore I hoped he would pardon the mistake, so as not to charge us therewith; which he cheerfully granted, making then but slight thereof. Thereupon I wished him to be our friend, with respect to the bill depending before the house of lords to relieve us from oaths. He objected that the name of God was not mentioned in it, viz. solemnly to bear witness in the presence of God; and if we did not allow of that, he would be against us; but if "the presence of God" was in it, he promised he would be for us.

I told him, those solemn expressions, "In the presence of God," were in the bill as it came from the house of commons, I was sure; desiring him to go in

and see the bill, that he might satisfy himself of the truth thereof; so he went into the house of lords to see the bill, and quickly came forth again to us, standing with the two temporal lords; and he then said, "it was true as I had told him, 'the presence of God' was mentioned in the bill." The earl of Carbery told him: "Then you were mistaken, my lord." Whereupon I said to him, I hoped he would now be for the bill, and be present when it was read a second time. He promised before the two lords he would; but was not, being absent the day it was moved; of which notice was taken by them and others. Howbeit the Lord our Heavenly Father stood by us and helped us, and inclined many of those in power to help forward the case for our relief.

On the 15th of the 2nd month, called April, 1696, the bill was read a second time, and committed to a committee of the whole house, and then some debate held a while, chiefly about a solemn declaration instead of an oath; some of them not willing it should pass in those general and solemn expressions, as sent up from the house of commons, viz. their solemn affirmation or declaration, to be in the presence of Almighty God. But some of the bishops, &c. urging some other words to be added, as

1. I call God to witness and judge, &c.
2. As witness and judge, &c.
3. I call God to record upon my soul, and appeal to God as Judge, &c.

Whereupon divers of the temporal lords came out several times (we waiting at several doors and ways into the house of lords) to discourse about those words some of the bishops would have had put upon us; to all which, as I told some of them at first, our soliciting and petitioning to be freed from the imposition and burthen of all oaths, was not to have any new oath to be imposed upon us; for if there be any imprecation, appealing to, or invoking God as judge or avenger, &c. it

would be construed to be an oath, or of the nature of an oath.

Upon this and the like expressions, some of those lords who were most friendly to us returned into the house, to discourse farther with the bishops, &c. when they perceived how tender and careful we were, not to be imposed upon in any thing contrary to our consciences. After they had further discoursed in the committee with those bishops, &c. they came out again to us in the lobby, where a few of us were attending under a true Christian care and fear towards Almighty God: and those lords who came out to us, and showed most care and kindness to us, urged, that inasmuch as the bishops were caught upon these words, to be added to the word God, viz. "the Witness of the truth of what I say," as containing no imprecation nor invocation of God, as Judge or Avenger, &c.; those lords that were most our friends, were very earnest that we would admit of the addition of the words which they proposed to be added, rather than to lose our bill or have it thrown out; forasmuch as God is really witness to the truth sincerely declared, He being omniscient as well as omnipresent. Then seeing the bishops were argued out of their first proposition, of calling God to witness and judge, &c.; the matter was left to them that then appeared our friends, and were really kind to us, with this caution, not to exceed these words which they had obtained concession to, viz. "the Witness of the truth." Whereupon they constrained the bishops so as not to exceed them, by any imprecation, invocation, or appeal to God, as Judge, Avenger, &c.

After report made of their amendments by the committee of the lords' house, the bill was passed, with this following form of a solemn affirmation inserted in it, and agreed unto by the house of peers, where it was formed, viz.: "I, A. B., do declare in the presence of Almighty God, the Witness of the truth of what I say."*

* This declaration was by the act made to have the force of an

With some few additions in the bill the same day, they returned the bill to the house of commons; who on the 17th of the said 2nd month, called April, agreed to the lords' amendments; and on the 20th of the same

oath in all cases except those included in the following provision : " That no Quaker shall by this act be qualified to give evidence in any criminal causes, or serve on any juries, or bear any office or place of profit in the government."

The terms of the affirmation were far from being satisfactory to many Friends. The *dissatisfied*, considered the definition of an oath to be *a solemn appeal to God, as to the truth of any declaration*; and in this sense they believed it to be forbidden in the New Testament. It appears from the remarks of George Whitehead, that those who were *satisfied* with the affirmation as granted in the act, though they would have preferred a simpler form, looked upon the imprecation in the conclusion of the usual form of the oath, and the holding and kissing the book, as constituting the objectionable parts of the act. It is not my business here to discuss the question of which party took the more correct view; but as a circumstance in the history of our present privileges, it seems worthy of notice, that the dissatisfaction which prevailed with the allowed form, led to the continuance of suffering in several instances, and to much painful discussion in the church. Thomas Story, who was himself a dissident, and a sufferer for being so, has preserved in his journal many particulars relative to this subject, and the following passage from his work, will, I think, be interesting to the reader, in connexion with George Whitehead's account.

Under the date of 1715, after speaking of the Yearly Meeting, he says : " As the affirmation, from the beginning of it, had occasioned much disturbance in the church, some being for, and some against it; so these divisions had ever been very oppressive to my spirit, as knowing nothing could hurt us more than that, or give satan or evil men more advantage against us: but though, from its first birth I never liked it, yet I ever kept true charity to those Friends who were for it, as believing they saw no hurt in it, though, I thought, I did; and, at my coming over to London, I laboured among them, to regain and keep a right temper one towards another: and, as they talked of a farther solicitation concerning it, (the late act being ready to expire,) I advised several leading men on both sides to proceed in one joint interest as one people; for though we could not all agree about the definition of an oath, or in what relation the affirmation stood to an oath; yet we all were as one man still, that an oath is not consistent with Christ's doctrine; and accordingly they did both solicit for a plain affirmation, without the Sacred Name at all; but that could not be obtained; all that the parliament would do, was to perpetuate the former, adding some clauses for the levying of tithes. When this came to be discoursed in the meeting, the minds of some on both

month, the said bill was sent up again to the house of peers, agreed on, concluded, and confirmed by the king and both houses of parliament, as a temporary act, then to continue in force for seven years, from the 14th

sides being heated, things were like to run high ; but the Lord was near, and, by his blessed wisdom and power, preserved us in unity. Some few of these who were for the affirmation inclined to have it established over all, as the testimony of Truth by the Yearly Meeting ; and some others, on the other side, were resolved to reject it, and testify against it, as short of the testimony of Truth : but seeing the tendency of such a division, I and some others laboured for peace ; and, with much long-suffering, patience, and labour in the love and wisdom of Truth, and as it opened and made way, things came at last to this good issue, that such as could take the affirmation, might have the benefit of it without censure of their brethren, and such as could not take it, should not be reproached by them ; but that the Meeting for Sufferings should continue their care and solicitations, together with the dissatisfied, for further ease in that point, at a fit season : and with this conclusion both sides were at last easy, and the meeting ended in more peace and brotherly kindness than for some years before, and to a more general satisfaction ; for which my soul was truly thankful, with many more."

The discussions were renewed at the Yearly Meetings for several succeeding years ; and at last several Friends who were satisfied with the affirmation, as it had been granted by parliament, proposed that a fresh solicitation should take place, for such a form as should meet the wishes of their conscientious dissentient brethren. The proposal was adopted ; and, in consequence, Thomas Story, with one or more of the other party, had interviews with the earl of Carlisle, the earl of Sunderland, the duke of Somerset, and several bishops ; from whom they received friendly expressions of willingness to give ease to tender consciences in regard to the affirmation. The king, Geo. I., was also applied to, and appeared very friendly to the cause of liberty. A petition was addressed to parliament, in the year 1721, *praying for leave to bring in a bill for such form of affirmation, as might relieve the difficulties under which many members of the Society laboured, from their scruple to the usual form.* The house of commons readily granted the request, but it met a violent opposition in the house of lords, from many peers both temporal and spiritual. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, said : " he did not know why such a distinguishing mark of indulgence should be allowed to a set of people who were *hardly Christians.*" When the bill came before the house, the archbishop of Canterbury moved, that the Quaker's affirmation might not be allowed in courts of judicature, except among themselves ; and the archbishop of York moved for a clause, that the Quaker's affirmation should not go in any suit at law for tithes ; but, after some debate, the question be-

of May, 1696, and from thence to the end of the next session of parliament, according to the words of the act. The act was renewed again for eleven years, beginning the 22nd of November, 1702; at which time not being well in health, I could be but little with the other Friends in their attendance on the parliament in that concern.

In 1714 the act was made perpetual; and in 1721, as already stated at the conclusion of the last note, the form of the affirmation was altered so as to meet the wishes of the more scrupulous members of the Society.

The next point which claimed the particular attention of this vigilant guardian of the Society's interest, was connected with its scruple against tithes, &c. A bill was brought into parliament for the "better payment of church rates, small tithes, and other church dues; and the better passing churchwarden's accounts." The *better way* which the bill proposed, was giving new powers to the ecclesiastical courts. It recited an act of Henry VIII. which *empowered* justices to commit to gaol, persons proved in the ecclesiastical courts to have obstinately and wilfully refused to pay their tithes; but it was now proposed to empower the ecclesiastical judge to determine all such matters absolutely: but with the true hypocrisy of a persecuting church, the civil magistrate was to be called upon, without the exercise of any discretion on his part, to issue out his warrant of distress, or if that was not to be found, to commit the party to prison.

The bill made its appearance in the house of lords; and having been referred to a committee, George White-

ing put thereon, was carried into the negative by fifty-two voices against twenty-one; and the question being put in the house whether the bill should pass, it was resolved in the affirmative. By this bill the affirmation was established in the simple form, *I A. B., do solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm*, whereby ease and relief was extended universally to the members of this Society in respect to oaths. *Gough*, vol. iv. p. 190.

head with seven other Friends were admitted, at their request, to state their objections to it. The bishop of London was the chairman; and having asked them what they had to except against the bill, George Whitehead spoke on behalf of the deputation, and he gives the following account of the interview.

I answered: "The same reason that is given in the act of parliament, in the 17th of king Charles the First, for the taking away the court commonly called the Star Chamber; and the power of the ecclesiastical commissioners, and their high commission court, being removed; because of their oppressive and arbitrary proceedings, &c. upon the repeal of a branch of a statute, primo Elizabeth, concerning commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, 17 Charles I. cap. 10 and 11; it is conceived, with submission, that the same reasons may be alleged against the present bill giving such absolute power to the ecclesiastical courts, their judges and ordinaries, to give the definite sentence and judgment, &c. that is, as therein described."

Bishop. "You except against the bill itself, &c.; what particulars do you object against?"

George Whitehead. "Observing divers particular clauses therein, it appears contrary to the great charter of England, that is magna charta, as the arbitrary and oppressive proceedings of the star chamber and high commission court were adjudged to be; and therefore they and their power or jurisdiction which they exercised, were justly taken away from them.

"By the present bill, the ecclesiastical judge or ordinary, is made the sole judge and determiner by his definitive sentence, concerning the penalties upon the persons and estates; and no appeal to any other or higher court, seems to be granted or allowed by it.

"The ecclesiastical judge and court commonly favour the plaintiff, that is, the vicar, priest, or curate, as a party for him, and therefore appear not to be impartial judges in the case.

"And suppose the defendant be sued for a tithe-pig,

goose, or hen, or a little orchard fruit, (that is, a few apples, pears, plums, or cherries, or the value thereof,) and the party for conscience' sake cannot pay the same, then must he or she be committed to prison for it. Surely there is no proportion between the punishment and the pretended offence; whereas punishments ought not to exceed the nature of the offence, they should be adapted to the quality and quantity of the offence; as it is a maxim in common law and justice, and in magna charta, for a greater offence a greater amercement; and for a lesser offence a lesser amercement. But if a person for conscience' sake cannot pay a tithe-pig, or goose, &c. the ecclesiastical court, judge or ordinary, by their certificate, will cause two justices to commit the person to jail, there to remain perhaps without bail or mainprize, until the court receive satisfaction, or until payment; which if he can never do, there he must remain under confinement till death; and his days may be soon shortened thereby, as many have been, by close confinement, causing sickness, &c."

One of the committee queried: "Which would you have then? do you choose rather to have your goods seized or distrained, than imprisonment of your persons?"

George Whitehead answered: "Of two evils we had better suffer by the less, yet choose neither. If we must suffer for nonpayment of tithes, we would rather suffer the less penalty than the greater; rather loss of goods than our liberties; as it is a more easy suffering, to have the small tithes or a tenth taken away, than to be confined in prison all our life time.

"As to paying parish clerks or sextons, or to the fabrics of parochial churches, (so the bishop termed them,) we do not think it equal we should suffer for not paying to them, whom we do not employ; and we do not require any of the Church of England to pay toward the repair of our meeting houses, they would not be so dealt by, &c."

The bishop reflected: "What, then, you compare

your meeting houses to ours, which are established by law," &c. I replied: "We are thankful to the government, ours are now legally allowed by the late act of exemption or toleration, &c."

One of the lords temporal put this question to us, viz. "But what reason have you in point of conscience, for your refusing to pay tithes?"

I answered: "That is a serious and weighty question, and deserves such an answer, viz. the reason of our conscience in this case, is grounded upon and has respect unto our Lord Jesus Christ, his command in his commission to his ministers: 'Freely ye have received, freely give,' *Matt. x.* And to his changing the priesthood of Levi, and disannulling the commandment and their law for tithes, as is fully signified in the 7th chapter to the *Hebrews*. Therefore Christ's ministry is a free ministry, under the Gospel Dispensation, and not to be upheld by tithes or forced maintenance; and it is very manifest, that Christ changed the priesthood from the tribe of Levi to Himself, (as our great High Priest,) who came not of the tribe of Levi, but of the tribe of Judah; of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood, *Heb. vii. 14.*

"And our refusing to pay tithes for conscience' sake, in these respects, in this Gospel day, and for these reasons, under the Gospel Dispensation, is no new or strange thing; for many eminent martyrs and reformers were of the same judgment with us, in this matter or testimony against tithes, in this Dispensation, &c."

And as I was then beginning to mention some of those martyrs, &c. as William Thorpe, Walter Brute, John Wickliff, &c. the said bishop being chairman, was pleased to interrupt me from proceeding further in my instances, and thus reflectingly turned upon me: "How you bring scraps of Scripture, but we have Scripture as well as you, viz: 'If we have sown unto you spiritual things, should not we reap of your temporal or carnal things.' 'And the Lord hath ordained, that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel,' &c."

Answer: "Reaping temporal things, or living of the Gospel, is not limited to tithes."

Here being interrupted and prevented from further discourse against tithes, the bishop asked us: "Have you any exceptions to offer in writing?"

I answered: "Yes, we have:" which we then delivered to the clerk, John Relph, Esq. to read; which he did very distinctly, and no reply was given; but the bishop directed him to lay them by for further consideration. But we heard of no further consideration or debate about the said bill in the house of lords, but that it was wholly laid aside.

The temporal lords that were present in the said committee were very civil to us; and after that discourse, divers of them appeared more kind to us than ever before.

I was very glad and esteemed it a great mercy from the Lord to us, that the said bill was stopped; for if it had passed into a law, I was persuaded that the priests of the persecuting sort, would have taken such strength and encouragement thereby, that they would have persecuted and imprisoned a great part of our Friends throughout England, &c.

Blessed be the Lord, they were disappointed, that that weapon was not formed ready to be put into their hands or power to make use of.

By the poll act which was passed in the previous reign, every dissenting teacher or preacher was obliged to pay a tax of twenty shillings quarterly; and as those were not exempted from payment who received no remuneration for preaching, the tax fell of course upon the ministers of Friends, and distrains it appears were made in several instances to recover it. When this act, on its expiration in 1695, was about to be renewed, George Whitehead and Thomas Lower applied to several influential members of parliament, and succeeded in convincing them that it was inconsistent with the tenor of the act, that persons who had no gain from preaching should pay a tax of four pounds a year;

and a clause was accordingly introduced into the new bill, which effectually relieved the case of Friends.

In the year 1697-8, the *Czar of Muscovy* being in England, it was agreed that some Friends should wait upon him; and George Whitehead prepared an address which contains bold but salutary counsel, shortly stating the character of the Society, and concluding with the following exhortation, to rule with mercy and to give liberty of conscience to his subjects.

“O Czar! the Great God requireth of thee, to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly before Him, who is a God of knowledge, and by whom actions are weighed, and who is the righteous Judge of all.

“We pray thee observe the good resolution of that great king Artaxerxes, when he was made lord over many nations; he would not exalt himself by reason of his power, but purposed with equity always and gentleness to govern his subjects, and wholly to set them into a peaceable life, and thereby to bring his kingdom into tranquillity, &c.

“And know, that it is by mercy and truth that the thrones of kings are established; and that thereby thou mayest obtain mercy and favour with the Most High God, and gain the real love and affections of thy subjects. O! be tender and merciful to them all, as they are all thy fellow creatures, created by one God: O! break off thy sins by righteousness, and showing mercy to the poor.

“And let the example of our renowned king William, influence thee to the like moderation and clemency, throughout all thy dominions; which he hath showed in granting free liberty of conscience, in the peaceable exercise of religion and worship towards Almighty God, as they may be persuaded by Him who is the Sovereign Lord over the consciences of men.

“From thy real well wishers and friends to thy immortal soul, who desire thy everlasting happiness.”

The paper was signed by five Friends, and among the rest by William Penn; and it appears that they

waited upon the Czar at Deptford, where he resided; but he declined to see them on the professed ground of being unwell. However, one of the principal persons in his suite, who treated the deputation in a friendly manner, promised to deliver the paper to his master.

The days of severe persecution had now drawn to a close, and there can be no doubt that a great improvement had taken place in the general feeling of all parties in regard to mutual toleration. The race of blind zealots was not however extinct. "There were some priests," says the narrative, "in the county of Norfolk, who appeared very invidious against us, and our liberty of religious exercise, being instigated by our old apostate adversary, Francis Bugg; and having what assistance he could afford them, they must needs have a public meeting with some of our Friends at West Deersham, in their parish church, so called, where some of our Friends of London and of the country met them, at the time appointed; and though the priest had gotten many of our Friends' books together, and endeavoured to render them obnoxious, yet they gained no advantage, but were disappointed of their evil designs; which were for some pretence to incense the people and the government to raise a new persecution against us, as hereafter is made more obvious. I had intended to have gone that journey into Norfolk, to have met them; but was in the interim prevented by a sudden indisposition, which remained for some days, till the Lord was pleased to recover me.

"However, the said Norfolk priests, in pursuit of their invidious designs and attempts, published two calumnious books, entitled

"I. 'A Brief Discovery,' &c.

"II. 'Some few of the Quakers' many horrid Blasphemies,' &c.; which they delivered to the parliament. The priests chiefly concerned against us in the said books, that they might appear men of note and learning, gave their names and distinctions in the title page of their said "Brief Discovery:"

"These priests thought to do great matters against us, by most falsely and maliciously rendering our principles blasphemous and seditious, &c.; wherein they were sufficiently detected and refuted, in two books which I wrote, in direct and full answer to them and their most bitter and unjust charges against us and our principles.

"One of my answers to them is entitled, 'Truth and Innocency vindicated, and the People-called Quakers defended in Principle and Practice, against invidious attempts and calumnies, &c.' printed 1699, and delivered to members of parliament.

"The other answer I put forth, is entitled 'Truth prevalent, and the Quakers discharged from the Norfolk rectors' furious charge, &c.' which though it be large, several of them were delivered to members of parliament.*

"Yet the implacable enmity of the said priests, and their assisting agent F. Bugg, and others, was such, that their persecuting us with gross aspersions and calumnies in print, would not appease their wrath; but they got an invidious petition framed against us, which they intended to present to the house of commons; in order to which, the two knights of the shire were intrusted to move the said petition in the house. Two priests attending and soliciting for some time, to have their petition moved and promoted in the house, but were disappointed therein, and their persecuting purposes justly frustrated.

"For having obtained a copy of their petition, I showed it to divers leading members of parliament; and how greatly the design thereof tended to raise a new persecution, and to make void the toleration and liberty of conscience, granted and legally settled by the

* The work consists of one hundred and eighty-seven closely printed small 4to pages. It forms an epitome of the charges against the Quakers, and an able defence of their civil and religious principles.

government. They were made sensible thereof; and resolved to oppose the said petition, and to throw it out with contempt, if it came to be moved in the house; asking me, "In whose hands it was?" I told them, "In the hands of the two Norfolk knights;" with whom I divers times discoursed about it, to show them the nature and tendency of the petition, and how greatly we were misrepresented in it. They understanding that many eminent members in the house were set against it, were in a strait, and intimated thus much to me, "that the clergy and some of the gentry of their own county of Norfolk, were earnest with them to present the said petition; but perceiving it would be rejected and thrown out, it brought them under that strait, that they must either displease those of their own county who chose them, or the house of commons." I told them: "It was an unthankful office that was put upon them;" they confessed it was. However, I said, "We did not solicit them to prevent their presenting or moving the said petition in the house; but if they were disposed to present it, we desired that justice of them, to give us some previous notice of the time when they intended to move it, that we might attend in readiness to answer for ourselves." This was fairly granted by them; however, upon their deliberate consideration, the petition was prudently dropt."

A similar attempt was made by the corporation of Bury in Suffolk, but their representatives in parliament wisely declined presenting the petition of their constituents to the house.

This petition with the light of a hundred years' experience upon its *jealousies*, sets the folly of the persecuting spirit in so striking and almost ludicrous a point of view, that I shall pay it the respect of insertion in this place.

"To the Honourable the Commons of England, in parliament assembled.

"The humble petition of the aldermen, assistant jus-

tice, and chief burgess, and burgesses of the common council, in behalf of themselves and the other inhabitants of the borough of Bury St. Edmonds, in Suffolk.

“Humbly sheweth,

“That we considering all ancient heresies which have vexed both Church and state, were never so formidable in their rise and progress as are the Quakers; we have too just a cause of dreading the subversion of our government by them if not carefully prevented and suppressed, being in their clandestine constitutions opposite to the condition of our established policy, and in their principles of faith antichristian; of government, antimonarchial; in points of doctrine, antiscriptural; and in practices, illegal; having their weekly, monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings, which we cannot but reasonably believe, tend not only to the subversion of our laws, but of our religion also, to us of greater concern than our lives.

“We therefore, obliged in duty to God and our country, do humbly pray your timely consideration of our jealousies, and to remove our fears, if not by totally suppressing, yet at least by preventing their after growth and encrease amongst us; that our posterity may untroubled live, by this early care of our laws and liberties, and we enjoy the wished for happiness of a peaceful life.”

At this period George Whitehead brings his memoirs to a close, and with the triumph of a Christian veteran, thus reviews the engagements of his past life.

CONCLUSION.

Manifold exercises, trials, and tribulations, hath the Lord my God supported me under, and carried me through, in my pilgrimage for his name and Truth's sake, more than could possibly be related in this history; having spent a long time, even the greatest part of my life from my youth upward, in the testimony, service, and vindication of the living, unchangeable Truth, as it is in Christ Jesus my Lord; for whom I have suffered many things, both in body and spirit, as also by reproaches and calumnies, and sincerely laboured in his love, who has supported me, and hitherto helped me in the Gospel of the Grace of God, and of his dear Son Jesus Christ, even the Gospel of life, salvation, and peace, to them who truly believe. And yet I esteem not all my sufferings and afflictions worthy to be compared to the glory set before me; for all which I must ascribe blessing, honour, glory, power, and dominion to the Lord God and the Lamb upon his throne, for ever and ever!

And when by the grace and assistance of my Heavenly Father, I have finished the work He hath given me to do; I firmly believe and livingly hope in the Lord, I shall die in the Lord Jesus Christ, and ever live with and rest in Him in his heavenly kingdom.

O my soul! enter thou into thy rest, even thy eternal rest from thy manifold labours, travails, and sufferings: for the Lord thy God hath dealt bountifully with thee; glory to his excellent Name for evermore!

G. W.

Concluded, London, the 18th of
the 6th Month, 1711.

SECTION XIX.

Brief notice of George Whitehead's further services.*

When George Whitehead wrote the preceding conclusion to the account of his "Christian Progress," it is highly probable that he found his bodily strength diminished; and that he anticipated a speedy dismissal from works to rewards. It is not easy to imagine a state of human existence more desirable than that in which this Christian labourer appears to have been at the date of the preceding paragraph. In his seventy-fifth year, looking with peaceful retrospect on a life conscientiously devoted to what he believed to be the will of his Creator, and the service of his fellow creatures; and forward with humble but certain hope to that glory, in comparison of which all the sufferings he had endured for Christ's sake were not worthy to be named. He was destined, however, to remain for twelve years more in this state of being, and was enabled to employ even the last remains of his bodily strength, in his accustomed religious and civil services. Many of those who had been his contemporaries in the early labours of the Society had been removed from their labours; and there were no doubt many occasions occurring, in which the advice and counsel of so experienced a veteran as George Whitehead, would be of essential service to the cause he was so anxious to promote; and the subject of liberty of conscience appears to have continued deeply to interest him.

George Whitehead has not noticed in his memoirs the death of king William, or the accession of queen

* To the original work of George Whitehead; a Supplement was appended by the Editor, from which I have taken most of the particulars mentioned in this notice of the last twelve years of his life.

Anne. The former circumstance could not but be one of the most mournful kind, to all the enemies of religious persecution ; and to none more than to the Quakers. It is quite evident from the circumstances just mentioned, that in his liberal and enlightened views, he far outran the age in which he lived, and the people over whom he ruled. William and Mary may be said to have planted the tree of religious liberty in England ; in their reign was the first act of parliament made "*for the ease of scrupulous consciences* ;" and the debt of gratitude due to William, as the instrument under Divine Providence of the ease which they enjoyed, was, there is good reason to believe, *deeply felt* by the Society of Friends.

On his safe return from Holland in the year 1701, and on the settlement of the crown of England in the protestant line, the Society thought it right to address him with their grateful acknowledgments and congratulations. Well might they say : " We, thy dutiful subjects, sincerely express our joy for thy safe return to thy people. We have great cause to love, honour, and pray for thee, as a prince whom we believe God hath promoted and principled for the good ends of government ; under whose reign we enjoy great mercies and favours, and particularly that of liberty to tender consciences in religious worship." Nor would it be with less sincerity, that in the following year, 1702, on presenting an address to the queen on her accession to the throne, they said : " We cannot but be sorrowfully affected with a deep sense of the loss sustained by the death of our late king William the III. whom God made the instrument of much good to these nations ; a prince who indeed desired to be the common father of his people, and, as such, did by his great example as well as precept, endeavour to unite them in interest and affection, and promoted and confirmed a legal liberty to tender consciences ; by all which, his reign was adorned to the renown of his memory."

George Whitehead, in company with some other

Friends, appears to have presented both these addresses.

I do not find any record of his proceedings during the few years of queen Anne's reign, which followed the close of his own narrative, except in a work published in conjunction with William Mead in the year 1712, under the title of "The people called Quakers truly represented, and vindicated from some mistakes in the representation of the Lower House of Convocation:" to which was added, a reply to a persecuting pamphlet against the Quakers and the toleration. This work will be found in the Appendix. It is evident from it that the spirit of persecution was far from extinguished. A bigotted zeal for the hierarchy, and a corresponding aversion to all dissenters, manifested itself in various ways, and especially in the law *against occasional conformity*, and that *against the growth of schism*. The latter act was designed to prevent dissenters from keeping schools, and virtually to take out of the parents' hands their natural right in the care and education of their own children. The Society of Friends presented a strong but respectful remonstrance against it, and it met with great opposition in both houses of parliament. It was nevertheless carried and received the royal assent, but on the very day on which this act was to have become the law of England, Anne, the last of the Stuart dynasty, expired. A change of measures immediately took place under the mild reign of George I.; and on his accession to the throne in the year 1714, George Whitehead presented to him, in company with a number of other Friends, a congratulatory address; which having been read, he addressed the king to the following effect.

"Thou art welcome to us, king George. We heartily wish thee health and happiness, and thy son the prince also. King William the Third was an happy instrument in putting a stop to persecution, by promoting toleration; which being intended for uniting the king's protestant subjects in interest and affection, it

hath so far that effect as to make them more kind to one another, even among the different persuasions, than they were when persecution was on foot. We desire the king may have further knowledge of us and our innocency; and that to live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty, is according to our principle and practice."

Having a desire to see the prince of Wales, and intimating it to a nobleman who was gentleman to the prince's bed chamber, he was introduced with several of his friends into a chamber where the prince met them; and George Whitehead addressed him as follows:

"We take it as a favour that we are thus admitted to see the prince of Wales, and are truly very glad to see thee. Having delivered our address to the king thy royal father, and being desirous to give thyself a visit in true love, we very heartily wish health and happiness to you both; and that if it should please God thou shouldst survive thy father and come to the throne, thou mayst enjoy tranquillity and peace, &c.

"I am persuaded, that if the king thy father and thyself do stand for toleration, for liberty of conscience to be kept inviolable, God will stand by you.

"May king Solomon's choice of wisdom be thy choice, with holy Job's integrity and compassion to the oppressed; and the state of the righteous ruler commended by king David, viz., 'He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God; and he shall be as the light of the morning when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds; as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining after rain.'"

It is said that the good old man's address was well received by the prince.

In the year 1715, on occasion of the rebellion, George Whitehead and one of his friends obtained admission to the king, and presented to him a paper; a copy of which was found among his manuscripts after his decease.

"A few words in true love to king George, humbly presented.

"Seeing our most gracious God hath been pleased, by his overruling power and providence, to give thee a free and peaceable accession to the throne of these kingdoms; O let thy trust and confidence be in the same Divine Power, and thy eye to that Light and Grace thereby given thee, and the Lord will no doubt confound thy foes, and disperse and expel that dark cloud and spirit of rebellion that is risen up against thee and thy lawful government, constituted for the defence and support of our just liberties and properties, religious and civil, against popery and slavery.

"Thy Christian principle for liberty to tender consciences being maintained and stood by, against persecution the pillar of popery, the Lord will stand by and defend thee and thy royal offspring; for surely, 'mercy and truth do preserve the king, and his throne is upheld by mercy.' Remember what the Spirit of the Lord spake by king David in his last words: 'He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God; and he shall be as the light of the morning, even a morning without clouds,' &c.

"The Lord the God of hosts be thy defence, thy Guide, and Counsellor, and replenish thy heart with his wisdom, whereby kings reign and princes decree justice; for in that wisdom true dominion stands.

"That thou, O king, mayst be a blessing in the hand of the Lord to these nations, and enjoy a safe, a peaceable, and prosperous reign in this life, and a crown of righteousness in that to come, is the hearty prayer of an ancient servant of Jesus Christ, and

"A truly loving and faithful subject,

"GEORGE WHITEHEAD."

"London, the 25th of the 8th month, called October, 1715."

In the following year, at the age of eighty, he again waited on the king with a deputation from the Society

to present to him a congratulatory address on the suppression of the rebellion. He introduced the address to the king, by a speech which proved that he still preserved his faculties and his loyalty. It was to the following effect.

"That in their annual assembly, held for the religious concerns of their Society, endeavouring to promote and put in practice the duties of religion professed by them, the sense of the great deliverance had such a weight upon their minds, that they were willing to express it in an address to king George, whom God by his providence had brought hither and preserved, so that he could well say, he was George by the grace of God, king of Great Britian, &c. And that as men carried that saying stamped on the money in their pockets, so it was to be wished it might be imprinted in the hearts of the subjects."

Though George Whitehead had now become very feeble in body, yet he continued to attend the meetings of his friends both for religious worship and for discipline; bearing his testimony "to the virtue and excellency of that Divine Grace, which had supported him from his youth upward; imparting in most sensible expressions such choice fruits of his own experiences, that an attentive hearer could not depart unedified. And even in meetings about Church affairs, where sometimes diversity of sentiments may arise, he would express his thoughts with a convincing force and solidity of reasoning, no less admirable than the unspotted integrity of his grey hairs was honourable."

When in his eighty-sixth year he wrote a lively address to his friends, which was printed and circulated amongst them. He died in great peace in the year 1722-3, at the age of eighty-seven.*

* For the account of his close, see "Introduction," p. 29, of vol. I.



APPENDIX.

- I. A CHRISTIAN EPISTLE TO FRIENDS IN GENERAL.
- II. THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS TRULY REPRESENT-
ED, AND VINDICATED FROM SOME MISTAKES IN THE LOW-
ER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION, &c. &c.
- III. THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND SOCIETY OF THE
PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS, &c. &c.



APPENDIX.

A CHRISTIAN EPISTLE TO FRIENDS IN GENERAL.

Dated the 28th of 7th mo. 1689.

Dear and tenderly beloved Friends and called of God, every where;

In a real and deep sense of my Heavenly Father's love and tender mercy, revealed through his most dear Son, our ever blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which I am, with many more, livingly made a partaker of, doth my life and spirit very dearly and tenderly salute you, as truly and most heartily wishing and praying, that divine grace, mercy, and peace, with all spiritual blessings and divine favours in Christ Jesus may be encreased and multiplied among you and unto you, to your great consolation, peace, and prosperity in the love of God.

Dear Friends, finding for some time of late a living and holy constraint and pressure of spirit, to communicate some things of weight and concern unto you respecting your safety, peace, and prosperity in the blessed unchangeable Truth, I am opened and encouraged by the precious Life and Spirit of our God, to be clear and free therein towards you all, and that in discharge of my tender conscience, in the sight and presence of the God of my life, whom I serve with my spirit in the Gospel of his dear Son, as I have sincerely done from my youth upward: blessed be his pure name for ever!

And having had these many years' experience in the

weighty service of the Lord our God, through manifold exercises, burdens, spiritual travails, and oppositions, I may not hide my talent, nor conceal those things my Lord and Master requires me to divulge for the safety and good of his people, in their several conditions, states, and attainments; as having long and truly seen the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living, and the good and blessed estate of his chosen and faithful ones; for which I praise the name of the Lord my Redeemer, in whom I have believed through his divine goodness, never to be forgotten by any of us; as also being not ignorant of or unacquainted with the many wiles, various workings, and depths of Satan, the great adversary of man's felicity and of the peace of God's people, who worketh upon the divers inclinations, mutable affections, wills, weaknesses, and infirmities of the sons of men, to deceive, pervert, deprave, and corrupt them, that they may the more easily be led captive by him at his will, in their following their own unsubjected wills and spirits.

You therefore, my dear Friends, who have livingly felt and tasted of the Lord's power and goodness, and known his work in your hearts, in order to your deliverance and redemption out of the evil world and the corruptions thereof, prize his tender mercies and goodness, and forget them not. Let the holy fear of the Lord God be your treasure, and true wisdom and understanding the stability of your times in righteousness. Let your sincere love to the pure name and Truth of the Lord, and one unto another, be continued in that unchangeable truth and power of an Endless Life, whereunto the Lord hath called us; and I pray God increase your love and zeal for his glorious name, and Christian tenderness, and brotherly affection one towards another, that life for ever more may be your blessing and portion; as it will be to all them who dwell in amity, true love, and unity of spirit in our Lord Jesus Christ, which is a most joyful, comfortable, and blessed state; which too many professors of Truth are short of for want of

keeping near to the Lord, in his holy fear, and love of his blessed name and Truth; whose negligence and unfaithfulness to Truth in themselves, hath caused a decay of love and want of charity towards others; and then, instead of humbly waiting and depending upon the Lord, some have exalted themselves in a self-will, self-conceit, and affection to preeminence in judgment over others, until thereby divisions and self-separations have been caused and stirred up by them, to the great grief of the spirits of the upright, who have kept their integrity to the Lord, his Truth, and people. And this self-exaltation, slighting, and contemning others, have been and are the great evils, snares, and engines wherewith the adversary catches them that never were thoroughly subjected into true humility, mortification, true self-denial or dying with Christ. Such, though under profession of Truth, may make a great show and flourish for a time in outward appearance, leaves, and blossoms, yet they bring not forth fruit unto perfection or ripeness in Christ. Therefore beware of self-exaltation, beware of an earthy spirit entering, beware of covetousness which is idolatry; let not the earth interpose betwixt any of your souls, and the brightness of that divine glory which has appeared even in our day and times.

Spiritual gifts may be lost or fallen short of, if the Fountain of them, the Holy Spirit of Life itself, be not diligently minded and followed; and where love towards God and his Truth decays in any, their love towards his servants and people grows cold; and then their gifts decrease and die, as the life of them is withdrawn or departed from, or that love lost which is the more excellent way: "For if I want charity [or love] I am nothing." What gifts, openings, discoveries, visions, revelations, wisdom, knowledge, or understanding soever any have, yet still it is the heavenly Root must bear them, they must keep low their minds and spirits to that from whence life and love springs; or else they fall, wither, die, and become empty, uncharitable, and hard-hearted; and there the enemy has his evil ends upon

them, in betraying them and corrupting their minds from the Truth, from life, from love, from the innocency and simplicity which is in Christ, the Way, the Truth, and the Life: and there is a danger in being too early and forward to censure and judge others, and in judging, censuring, and undervaluing others' gifts, ministry, and labours, whom God hath called into his work and service; for some thereby may either lose their own gifts, life, and strength, or fall short of those heavenly gifts which otherwise they might attain to, if they kept low and tender in humility, love, and society with their brethren; whereby they might also be serviceable with them. For I have seen in my time some, who never passed through judgment in themselves, yet very censorious, judging, detracting, and whispering against their brethren, slighting them, their ministry, and labours, who themselves have greatly lost by it; and God in displeasure hath suffered them to discover their own weakness and nakedness, for their own abasement under the righteous judgment of Truth. And it is evident that from this kind of exalted, censorious, whispering, and envious spirit, which worketh not for love and union, have proceeded the several divisions, schisms, and separations which have happened, to the great trouble of the Church of Christ in our days, as in the primitive Christians' days.

And the several sorts of apostates and backsliders from Truth, show what and what kind and manner of spirit they went and go out in, by their works and fruits, whether in a spirit of pride and ambition, in a spirit of envy and hypocrisy, in a scornful contemning spirit, in a covetous earthly spirit, in a loose profane spirit, or in a drunken debauched spirit of ranterism and fleshly liberty, which come all from one evil root and seed, according to the various corrupt inclinations and wills of men, upon which the enemy works, and appears with baits and temptations suitable thereunto, that he may prevail the more. And it is certain, that the envious apostates and wilful adversaries, were the

most troublesome to the primitive Churches of Christ and his holy apostles in their day, and so in ours. Therefore blessed and truly happy are they who keep their habitations in the Truth and love of God, and live in Christian love and charity one towards another; for such walk in the light, where there is no occasion of stumbling or scandal.

And as it was evidence unto the primitive Christians, that they were passed from death to life because they loved the brethren, and that they had purified their souls through their obedience of the Holy Spirit unto unfeigned love of the brethren; even so now the same evidence and testimony remains and lives in and for all them that dwell in the love of God one towards another: for all envy, prejudice, back bitings, whisperings, tale carrying, lying, heats, passions, provocations, reviling, railing, clamours, scorn, contempt, ill language, flattery, and hypocrisy are to be utterly put away, avoided, judged, condemned, and for ever excluded the camp of God; for they proceed from the false and degenerate birth, evil seed and spirit, and not from the true seed or birth; which is innocent and hurts no body by word or action, in person, name, reputation, or property; for that is tender in all these things. For false reports, whisperings, backbitings, and tale carrying cause strife and division, and are condemned by the law of God and Light of Christ, and expressly forbidden by God himself: "Thou shalt not be as one that carries tales up and down among my people: thou shalt not receive a false tale, nor raise a false report against the Lord's people, nor do his prophets or servants any harm."

And all who profess the Truth, or make mention of the name of the Lord among us, ought to watch over their own spirits, wills, and passions, and have a care of hurting one another, or crushing any tender spirit or plant, or stopping or quenching any spiritual gift or testimony God has given, how little or low soever it may be or seem; for some of a tender spirit are sooner hurt

and wounded than healed. All keep in Christian humility, meekness, patience, gentleness, and tender heartedness one towards another. And elders and overseers in the churches of Christ must be examples of believers; both in humility, meekness, patience, and condescension, as Christian patterns; and not self-willed, nor soon angry, nor given to passion, striving, heats, or contention. Such Christian example and behaviour in the house and church of the living God, tend greatly to keep out and prevent contentions and contentious spirits, and to the comfort and encouragement of the upright hearted, who are willing to serve the Lord, his Truth, and people.

My dear Friends! the Lord our God has been good to us; a tender Father through all our trials, sufferings, and exercises, in upholding us by his free Spirit, accompanying us with his presence, comforting us in our afflictions with his renewed mercies and multiplied favours, in preserving us a living people to his praise until this day, and affording us this present liberty we have of late enjoyed, and do partake of the benefit and advantage thereof, in our public, peaceable and religious assemblies for the exaltation of the glorious name, holy Truth, and divine power of the Lord our God. Wherefore we have great cause to prize his tender mercies and goodness to us, and walk humbly under the sense thereof, that a right use and improvement may be made of all the mercies and privileges we do enjoy, and such a good use of the present liberty, as that none grow careless or negligent, indifferent or lukewarm, because thereof, nor any sit down at ease in the flesh or in the earth, and therein promise themselves security from further sufferings or trials, because of the late and present enjoyment of liberty and ease from persecution. This is no good use of the present mercy, nor safe conclusion; for God has many ways to try his people; and national calamities and distresses, whereof his own people sometimes partake, are not at an end, nor the judgments incurred by iniquity turned away, because of the

continued provocations, wickedness, rebellions against God, their abominations, pride, hypocrisies, deceits, falsehood, and presumption, abounding in this and other professing nations against the great and righteous God, the Judge of all, who is so long sparing and forbearing as He is to this nation, merely for his small remnant and seed's sake, which is already gathered and to be gathered.

Yet the great God will distress nations, and cause the earth to tremble before Him, and overturnings and desolations in the earth before calamities are ended, or Christ's peaceable kingdom be set up more generally in the earth, or where as yet it is opposed and resisted; for the cause why wars, desolations, and the devouring sword are already in great judgment entered so many nations and countries, is because of the crying sins, great provocations, persecutions, and cruelties in the dark places of the earth.

And, dear Friends, brethren and sisters, whom I truly love in the Lord, who retain your integrity and love in the blessed, unchangeable Truth, you cannot be insensible how that the Lord's harvest is great, and what need of faithful labourers there now is; an effectual door being open in this time of liberty, the Lord in mercy has granted for the good of many poor souls, that they may come and receive the Truth in the love of it; and that they who have been or are of a fearful heart, may receive strength and know the Lord to be their Saviour and Redeemer, in this his evangelical day, and free and blessed opportunity He has afforded. And yet, though this harvest be great, the diligent and faithful labourers are but few now raised up, in comparison of the greatness of the harvest and necessity of the work; many of our ancient brethren and faithful fellow labourers and helpers in Christ being taken away, and gone to their everlasting rest, having faithfully served out their day and generation, fulfilled and finished their testimony with joy and peace, and obtained a crown of glory that shall never fade away.

And this very matter has been often seriously upon my thoughts and weighty considerations, what should be the cause or reason why so few faithful labourers and clear Gospel ministers, have been of late raised up or are now brought forth ; though some have a good lively testimony, blessed be the Lord ! And it clearly appears to me, first, that few are given up in their spirits for this weighty service, as we were in the beginning, who are in some measure gifted and qualified.

Secondly, few sincerely seek the Lord, or have waited upon Him with fervent desires, prayer, and supplication, that they may be gifted, indued, and qualified with power, wisdom, faith, patience, &c. for the work of the ministry of Christ Jesus ; whereas, if any man want wisdom he should ask it of God ; and he shall not miss of a gracious answer to the desire of his soul, who sincerely asks, seeks, and knocks at Wisdom's gate : " Whatsoever ye ask in my name," saith Christ, " believe that ye shall receive it, and it shall be given you." You know Solomon's request to the Lord for an understanding heart to discern judgment, his choice of wisdom rather than riches or long life, how it pleased God. *1 Kings iii. 10.*

Thirdly, very few have their minds and spirits really and inwardly exercised in frequent prayer and daily supplication to God, or in heavenly meditation, or spiritual contemplation in God's pure and spiritual laws, ways, judgments, and works, or in Holy Scriptures by the Holy Spirit which opens them ; but too many have their minds, hearts, and affections taken up with these fading objects and things below, minding earthly things, being overcharged with the love of riches, cares, and cumbrous of this life, to compass the earth, wherein many a good talent has been hid, and poor soul buried in captivity. Whereas it requires an inward and serious exercise of spirit toward God, frequent and fervent prayer and supplication unto Him, an inward and diligent attention upon Him, who is the giver of every good and perfect gift, to obtain both Divine wisdom and

a weighty, living, clear, evangelical ministry. For the sanctified hearts and souls who truly fear God, are those into whom only wisdom entereth, and maketh them friends of God, and prophets. The Lord will have an inward, spiritual, sincere, and zealous people. Oh! inward watchfulness, prayer, and supplication to Almighty God have been and are too much neglected by many; I pray God they may seriously examine, and find out the causes in themselves with the Light of Christ Jesus, and bring all to the righteous judgment thereof.

Fourthly, if any of the younger sort, who are in some measure imbued with spiritual gifts and knowledge, do let up a slight and disesteem in their minds of their elder brethren, who are experienced in the work and service of God, and keep not in society or union with them in the spirit of love and of a sound mind, but give way unto a singularity, abounding in their own sense, not keeping low and humble before the Lord, nor little in their own eyes; such neither grow in life, nor in Divine openings, nor increase in their gifts, nor come to attain to a weighty, clear, evangelical ministry and service; but rather lose, die, and wither, unless they come into true humility, self-denial, reconciliation, love, and union with their elder faithful brethren; who, in the love of God, would tenderly help them, and not hinder them in the work and service of the Lord our God.

It is both a great grief and scandal also, to see many of the younger sort who frequent our meetings, and even of Friends' children also, degenerating into pride, and height of spirit and apparel, so nearly to imitate and border upon the world as too many do, contrary to the gravity, modesty, sobriety, plainness, simplicity, innocency, and humility, which Truth requires, in example as well as in spirit, and which Truth at first led many into; and as still it doth lead and order them that truly love and obey it: in which I pray God to settle and order his people, and that no plea nor excuse may be

made to maintain pride, vanity, or immodesty in apparel, which only gratifies vain airy minds and spirits, and the lust of the carnal eye, and grieves the tender, and gives occasion of reproach and stumbling to them that are without, and to such as are soberly and religiously inclined. O! it is precious to keep low and humble before the Lord, and to walk as living examples of Christian humility; a lowly mind is content with low things, and loves plainness.

And this is observable, that if never so much be truly and sincerely preached in public against pride and vanity in apparel, &c. if it be indulged or connived at home in children or young persons, by parents, guardians, or overseers, all preaching, instruction, and warning proves to them but as water spilt upon the ground, and makes no impression; whilst through such encouragement and indulgence at home, they embrace a spirit of pride and irreverence towards God, and disregard to his truth and people; and though some formality and something of the form of Truth, they may have by outward education, it is not by the work of regeneration; for there are but few in comparison that really come in at that door; and therefore I have had often a godly fear upon me of the springing up of degenerate plants amongst us, and a degenerate generation to the dishonour of Truth and our holy profession, after our days.

And it is they who are inclining and getting into the spirit of the world, and liberty out of the Truth, who live not in humility nor in the fear of God, that give secret strength to an apostate turbulent spirit, which has been the Church's exercise of late years, and that are most easily caught with that apostate spirit, and feigned words of the instruments thereof, whose work is to sow discord, and make divisions, schisms, and separations, which are fruits of the flesh; for if all had been faithful to the Light, and kept in humility and love of Truth and one another, there had been no enmity one towards another, nor smiting of fellow servants;

but the fear of God would have preserved them out of those snares of death, which that spirit of discord leads into.

Howbeit, I am well satisfied in the Lord, that He will never suffer a general or final apostacy or degeneration; the brightness of our day, and glory of our Sun of righteousness shall never be extinguished; although too many, through the adversary's subtilty and temptations, together with their own carnal and corrupt inclinations, are apt to degenerate, and their minds to be exalted and alienated from the fear of God, from the cross of Christ, from humility and lowliness of mind, from true and conscientious tenderness, from love to the brethren, from innocency, plainness, and simplicity that is in Christ, both in their spirits, language, and habits, who therefore ought to be faithfully admonished and tenderly instructed; by which means, together with a meek and gentle behaviour, many have been gained and many may yet be recovered out of the snares of satan, who have been taken captive at unawares; "having compassion of some, making a difference," has often reached the tender part in them: and in relation to others more deeply prejudiced, I remember a cautious saying of an ancient and faithful brother deceased, viz. "Where we cannot make them better, we must take heed we do not make them worse." The Lord keep his people in his holy fear, watchful and humble before Him, in true love and tender heartedness; that they may receive wisdom from Him to behave themselves, and to minister suitably to all conditions.

And all dear and tenderly beloved Friends, with all who are effectually convinced of God's holy Truth and name, and do profess the same; in the holy fear of God, in his Light watch and pray constantly, without fainting, against your soul's subtil adversary, in all his attempts to beget into self-exaltation and prejudice, to smite fellow servants and cause divisions or offences; for that is the enemy's work.

And, Friends, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus

Christ with respect of persons ; this was ancient and Christian counsel. So let not the rich and high condemn the low and mean ; let not uncertain riches puff up any, or exalt them above their brethren ; nor any brother of high degree in earthly enjoyments, slight or condemn their brethren of low degree. Some sincere hearted and serviceable Friends and brethren have enjoyed plenty of the world's goods, and yet through losses, sufferings, disappointments, or others' unjust dealings by them, are brought low in the world ; and who were esteemed when in prosperity. It would be very unchristian and sinful to slight or disesteem them in their adversity, which is their trial. The poor of this world who are rich in faith, whom God hath chosen, are near unto Him ; their faith is the more tried by their poverty and lowness, and how soon that may be the trial of many that are rich, they know not ; therefore it is very unsafe for any to trust in uncertain riches, or to be exalted or lifted up because of them ; they should rather humbly depend upon the living God, and trust in Him, and love and esteem their brethren in Truth, how mean and low soever in this world, knowing that with God there is no respect of persons, nor with them who truly bear his image.

And pray, Friends, keep out all disputes and controversies, which some busy spirits in the world are incident unto, as about outward revolutions, governments, state affairs, and kingdoms of this world. Let not their divisions divide you, nor their strife and contentions about the outward court and forms of religion, earthly kingdoms and crowns that will fade, influence any among you to contend or become parties about them ; but quietly serve and wait upon God in your places and stations where He hath set you, and submissively leave all to his overruling power, wisdom, and providence, to do or suffer things to come to pass as He pleaseth ; for none may say to Him : " What dost Thou ? " though men may be warned as God shall require. And He knows what is best for his people, and

will cause all things to work together for good to them that love Him: his kingdom come more and more, his blessed will be done in heaven and earth, who is Judge of all, and sees all hearts, intents, and designs of men throughout the whole world. And you know that we cannot make flesh our arm, nor therewith fight for one or another; stillness and quietness, innocency and good-will towards all men according to our Christian principle, is therefore the best and safest state and condition, wherein we all may approve ourselves as the Lord's hidden ones, and as of them that are quiet in the land.

Be still, and know that the Lord is God, and that He will be exalted in his everlasting kingdom and dominion over all the kingdoms of men; neither let the world's confusions confound you, nor the world's distractions distract you, or any of you, nor the removing of mountains in the earth remove you from the Lord's mountain, nor the unstable waters or tossing waves, toss you, or influence any of you, to discompose or hurry you from your peaceable habitations; but keep in your Strong Hold, your Rock, and Foundation, Christ Jesus; nor let any thing divert you from minding his kingdom of peace above all, which is not of this world; out of which men's lusts and the ground and occasion of wars and fighting are excluded; for in Salem is his tabernacle.

O! let all quietly wait upon the all-seeing, righteous, holy God, in order to see his good end through all, and his righteous determination and decision of the controversies amongst men. And keep in innocency and peaceable conversation towards all, and inoffensively under and towards the civil government, giving no real occasion of offence; but, as becomes true Christians, walk in love and good will towards all, both high and low; for herein hath been and will be our safety and confidence through all our trials, being preserved by the power and goodness of the Lord our God, as his peculiar people, who is our Stay, our Rock, and Re-

fuge : blessed be his name for ever ! O ! forget not to praise the Lord, for all his tender mercies and peculiar favours and goodness in our preservation until this day ; knowing also, that they who sincerely and steadfastly trust in his name and power, shall be as mount Sion that shall never be removed ; and that as his servant David declared : " It is better to trust in the Lord, than to put confidence in man : it is better to trust in the Lord, than to put confidence in princes," *Ps.* cxviii. 8, 9 ; I pray God keep all his people in a steady dependence upon Him, and confidence in Him to the end.

Finally, my tenderly beloved Friends and brethren, having thus far cleared my conscience in the sight of God, in the living sense of his presence and counsel in these matters, as relating to several states and dangers, I recommend all to the faithful and true Witness in themselves, to make the particular and just application, and to make every one sensible of the weight and lively impressions of these and all other Christian cautions and warnings, proceeding from thence through any of the servants of Christ, for the safety and peace of all the Lord's people among us ; even to the least and lowest of his flock, and those convinced among us, who are called by his grace to the confession of his holy name and Truth.

The God of peace be with you all and bless you, and encrease righteousness, peace, love, and union among his people every where, that all may be steadfast in the Truth, true and faithful in their day and time, to the end of their days : amen, amen.

Your faithful friend and brother in Christ,

GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

London, the 28th of
the 7th mo. 1689.

THE
PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS
TRULY REPRESENTED

*And vindicated from some Mistakes, wherein they are
misrepresented in the Representation of the
Lower House of Convocation.**

Printed in the year 1712.

Part I.

Seeing it is not unknown that we, the said people, profess faith in God the Father, and in his dear eternal Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Spirit, One God

* Perhaps the following note may be acceptable to some readers.

The Convocation of the English clergy, at least that of the province of Canterbury, had in ancient times considerable power. It determined the taxation to be paid by the clergy, enacted ecclesiastical canons, and was consulted by the government on important matters affecting the national profession of religion. Their power having been much abridged, they had been very inactive for some time; when, subsequently to the revolution in 1688, the party most opposed to the new order of things, "sedulously propagated a doctrine, that the Convocation ought to be advised with upon all questions affecting the church, and ought even to watch over its interests, as the parliament did over those of the kingdom." By this means the activity of the clergy, and especially of the high church party was stirred up in these synods; and as they had been chiefly promoted by those who were most favourable to arbitrary civil power and ecclesiastical domination, so their proceedings were characterized by the same spirit: and it is worthy of notice, that whilst fulminating against the poor Quakers, and those great principles of religious liberty which now pass for incontrovertible truths, the Lower House distinguished itself by the most factious

blessed for ever more; and that we do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by Divine Inspiration, according as expressed in the Act of Exemption or Toleration, anno primo Gulielmi et Mariæ, which being legally provided, and by us sincerely and publicly owned to authority, and one condition of our present and religious liberty; we think it very hard and undue measure, as well as uncharitable, to be joined either with Socinians or Arians, and branded with "infidelity, damnable errors," which you say have been "embraced and propagated by the sect of Quakers, whom, in several of their treatises, catechisms, and primers, have taught the rudiments of Christian faith in such a manner, as to make it seem to be little more than a complicated system of deism and enthusiasm;" to which is added, "from the wicked principles thus disseminated, as wicked practices have followed."

Unto all which we sincerely and humbly answer:

I. We know nothing, in point of Christian doctrine and principle, more openly and apparently asserted and propagated by the said people called Quakers, than the Divinity of Christ, and essential union of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This holy and blessed Scripture Trinity we have always stood for, in real faith and practice.

II. The Divinity of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that He is the Eternal Word, the true God, as well as truly man; being expressly agreeable to Holy Scripture testimony, viz. *that he is the Mighty

spirit, and especially by insolence towards the bishops who were less bigotted, and whom while pretending to assert the Divine right of episcopacy, they laboured to deprive of their lawful preeminence in the Anglican synod. "In the ferment of that age," says Hallam, "it was expedient for the state to scatter a little dust over the angry insects; the Convocation was accordingly prorogued in 1717, and has never again sat for any business." *Const. Hist.* Vol. III.

* Isa. ix. 6.

God, &c. *the Eternal Word, whereby all things were made; †who is over all, God blessed for ever: ‡God created all things by Jesus Christ; §who is the true God and Eternal Life; by whom also the worlds were made; the Divine ||three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are One.

The blessed Trinity in the unity of Divine Essence, is manifest in the wonderful works of God, both in the old and new creation, and the mystery thereof revealed and experienced in the new birth.

III. Thus we sincerely believe and confess the Divinity and Deity of the Eternal Son of God, Christ Jesus, with respect to his being the Eternal Word, which was in the ¶beginning; **before Abraham was; ††from Everlasting; ‡‡glorified with the Father before the world began; and in respect to the fulness of the Godhead (yea, all fulness) §§dwelling in Him; and as ||||all power in heaven and earth is given unto Him; and as by whom also ¶¶God made the worlds.

All which seriously considered, thus to assert the glorious Divinity of the Son of God, cannot be inconsistent with his Divine wisdom, love, and great condescension in assuming the holy humanity, his pure and perfect manhood for our sakes, even for the redemption of mankind. "Without controversy, great is the mystery of Godliness," saith the apostle, 1 *Tim.* iii. 16, "God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit," &c. And surely excellent is the mystery of Christ, and the true spiritual knowledge of Him, and his riches unsearchable. *Ephes.* iii. 4—9. 2 *Cor.* v. 16. *Col.* i. 27.

IV. The immortality of the soul of man, and the true notions and distinctions of good and evil, together with the just judgments and suitable rewards, whether

* John i.

† Heb. i.

** John viii. 58.

†† Col. i. 19. ii. 9.

† Rom. ix. 5.

‡ 1 John v. 7.

†† Mic. v. 2.

||| Matt. xxviii. 18.

‡ Ephes. iii. 9.

¶ John i. 1—4.

‡‡ John xvii. 5.

¶¶ Heb. i. 2. xi. 3.

in this or the next life, we never deemed groundless or vain, as the ranters, corrupt libertines, and atheists have done and do: but constantly believe and assert the righteousness of God, in justifying the righteous and condemning the wicked: "For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad." 2 Cor. v. 10.

V. As to infidelity and damnable errors, &c. charged upon the Quakers; as we are not conscious to ourselves thereof, we do not find any colour of proof nor whence they originally arose; except from some persecuting adversaries' bitter invectives, or pamphlets of some apostates, who are gone out from us into enmity, and dissembling conformists, to ingratiate themselves into favour and credit with the Church of England, by perverting our principles and calumniating us and our Christian religion and Society. And we know no catechisms or primers owned or promoted among us, about the rules of the Christian faith, but such as are agreeable to Holy Scripture. Witness Robert Barclay's Catechism, and the Christian testimonies and answers of divers other approved authors among us, wherein the forementioned doctrines and principles of the Christian faith are sincerely asserted; although we have been greatly misrepresented by some of our adversaries' false and fictitious catechisms, in our names, mock dialogues and trials, and silly, idle romances, &c.

VI. Our embracing and confessing Christ Jesus, as the true Light which enlightens mankind, and the inspiration and guidance of the Holy Spirit, under the New Covenant Dispensation, has been by some ignorant and anti-christian spirits, in contempt, rendered ~~deism~~ and enthusiasm, though the same be often prayed for and confessed in the liturgy of the church of England. And we hope our embracing those Christian principles, namely, that of the true Light, *John* i., Divine Inspiration, and being led by the Spirit of God, *John* xvi. 13, *Rom.* viii. 14, will not produce any wicked practices,

as dissolute behaviour, oaths, imprecations, growth of immorality, profaneness, drunkenness, and lewdness, &c. all which are utter abominations to our religious and Christian principles and Society; and therefore ought not to be imputed to us or our profession, as any cause thereof. But it is rather feared, that the ignorance, libertinism, and debauchery of too many of the priests in this nation, have in a great measure contributed thereunto; together with the former books, allowing sports and pastimes on the Sabbath day.

VII. It is very sad and lamentable, that infidelity, libertinism, and scepticism should so much abound and prevail in any Church professing Christianity, as in this nation where so much of religion and holiness of profession and conversation are pretended. But people's fruits must show whose plants and what trees they are.

VIII. We believe as you say, and it is matter of sorrow and grief of heart: "That one fountain from whence the corruptions of religion and morality have flowed, is on your theatres; and that things sacred and serious have been handled after the most ludicrous manner, &c.; and that on them obscenity, blasphemous allusions to Holy Writ, and various sorts of profaneness have abounded, &c.; and that the vicious images, painted to the life, have made such impressions on the minds of the young and unwary as are not easy to be defaced."

And the like account is given by the Upper House in their representation; viz. "That this profaneness hath been much increased by the licentiousness of the stage, where the worst examples have been recommended to imitation." And further, they propose to the queen, viz. "We entertain not the least doubt of your majesty's firm resolution to render the laws and proclamations, set forth for the suppression of immorality and profaneness, useful to that purpose, by an impartial and vigorous execution of them; and to reform the corruptions of the stage, which have been so instrumen-

tal in vitiating young and innocent minds, and given so just offence to all serious and devout Christians."

We heartily wish that what both your houses have proposed in this case last mentioned, may be truly pursued; so as the government may be prevailed upon totally to suppress, remove, and prohibit those stage plays and the actors of them, seeing they are of so irreligious and impious a tendency, and cause of ridiculing true religion and debauching youth. We are persuaded they are greatly offensive to God, and injurious to many poor souls; and we think it behoves you to enquire, if some of your priests do not resort to those play houses, especially of the younger sort, as is reported; and how culpable such are if they do. And whether it be not a great dishonour to your profession and function, for any of them to take the severest, most chargeable, and ruinous courses, in prosecuting divers of our Friends for small tithes, as unto imprisonments, sequestrations, &c. seeing they have a more easy way to recover them by late laws? Is not this severe course rather an indication of revenge, than of Christianity or humanity? And we think you cannot reasonably suppose, that such unmercifulness and oppressions will any ways redound or tend to the honour of your religion, church, or profession.

About restraining the press, so much pressed, there had need to be a just and equal care that it be not put into the power of any one party, to judge, stop, or license books, as they please; for therein may be great partiality and injustice, in permitting only books of their own party, if they relate to their religious persuasions, and stopping all others; and then many that may be unjustly defamed and grossly calumniated, and their principles perverted (as many have been served) by scandalous pamphlets, fictitious romances, and false dialogues, would not be suffered to answer in defence of themselves; which would be very unfair, partial, and unjust, if the press should be restrained only to a party. Yet it is very meet it should be so far restrained, as

not to be suffered to print either seditious news, or pamphlets against the government, or tending to introduce or promote vice, immorality, impiety, or profaneness; and that all licentious, obscene books and pamphlets, tending to deprave and vitiate youth, be stopped and suppressed.

To conclude, the premises seriously considered, we pray you be more charitable in your judgment towards us, and do as you would be done by; and not ready to credit or receive reproaches or calumnies against us, the said people, from invidious incendiaries, tending to raise persecution; for that would not tend to the glory of God, your honour, or inward peace.

We humbly hope the queen of Great Britain, (whom God preserve,) is better principled and more just, than to prejudge us upon injurious misrepresentations, or to receive evil reports or aspersions against us, who are her peaceable protestant subjects.

G. WHITEHEAD.

W. MEAD.

A BRIEF ENQUIRY

Upon an Invidious Book, or Pamphlet, styled, "A Winding-sheet for Quakerism;" lately delivered to the members of parliament; and also said to be "A brief enquiry into the toleration of the Quakers; by Edward Cockson," who styles himself M. A. Rector of Westcot Barton in the County of Ozon. Together with a few Queries, proposed to the Lower House of Convocation, relating to the said book, seriously to consider of.

Part IX.

Whereas the design and scope of the said pretended Winding-sheet appears to be against the toleration, and to have the same taken away, especially from the people called Quakers in the first place, as being the principal objects of his envy and fury, the meaning thereof is, to take away the liberty of their conscience, respecting their religious exercise in the worship of God in their solemn assemblies, legally tolerated; which to deprive them of, would tend either to make them athiests, or hypocritical conformists; or rather, if that cannot be effected, to expose them to all such severities, penalties, and persecutions, as formerly they suffered deeply under; and not only so, but the same legal severities and sanguinary punishments, as, under the law of Moses, were provided against blasphemers of the name of God, false prophets, and other high offenders, are urged and applied against the said people, and as being still in force under the Gospel administration, p. 6. As if nothing would satisfy his fury, short of the utter destruction of the said people. And for what

cause alleged or pretended by him? Even for no less than heresies and blasphemies. Oh sad! And what are those chiefly, viz.

1. "That the professors of Quakerism prefer heathenism to true Christianity," p. 3.

Answer. That were a sad error and heresy indeed, to prefer heathenism to true Christianity, if we may take heathenism to be idolatry and impiety, as truly it is. But it is a gross falsehood and perversion against the people called Quakers, and not deducible from their writings, if justly quoted. For herein the man puts no difference between heathenism, and the gentile divinity professed, together with the piety and morality practised by many of the philosophers and others; both of which the Quakers have commended, not preferred to true Christianity, but as agreeable thereto, and included therein, against all false Christians and hypocrites, under the profession of Christianity, perverted and abused by their sin pleasing and sinners' indulging doctrines and corrupt conversations, who argue for continuance of sin the term of life, contrary to the divinity, piety, and Christianity found in divers heathen writers. This is the true state of the Quakers' case, in the point.

2. "As for us of the Church of England, their spite against us is most superlative," p. 3.

Answer. This is a great mistake; we do not hate any of their persons; no, not the priests, but their corrupt practices, covetousness, envy, pride, persecution, where found among them who persecute and imprison our Friends, and many times take away their goods to great excess; sometimes for a small value claimed.

3. "That their great Robert Barclay adviseth to have our glebes and tithes taken from us, and to put them into the public treasury for the payment of taxes: and declares, that this is the only way soundly to reform us," p. 4. Apol. p. 340.

Answer. A sad complaint! How hard would this pinch mercenary preachers! Yet we hope it will not

prove us heretics or guilty of heresy; no more than Christ's ministers were, in preaching the Gospel freely, as they had freely received and were commanded by Him.

And the apostle Paul was so much of Robert Barclay's mind, as that tithes and oblations, of offerings, were discontinued under the Gospel Dispensation, as being ended by Christ Jesus, the one Offering; and the priesthood that took tithes changed from Levi to Christ, who came of the tribe of Judah, not of Levi. And many of the protestant reformers and martyrs were also of the same judgment, against the payment of tithes under the Gospel and New Covenant Dispensation. And how strongly and clearly does the apostle argue this case, for Christ's ending the first priesthood and law of tithes and offerings! *Heb. vii—x.*

4. On *Heb. x. 23, 28, 29*, "The whole place," saith the rector, "seems chiefly to have respect to such heretics as deny Christ Jesus, and the efficacy of his blood, as it is plain the Quakers do," quoth he, p. 7.

Answer. Where is it plain, that the Quakers deny Christ Jesus, and the efficacy of his blood? I am sure such denial is expressly contrary to the principle and profession of the people called Quakers; and therefore this adversary might have been horribly ashamed to rank the said people among heretics, upon such notorious calumnies, thereby to render them incapable of the toleration, and consequently to expose them to severe persecutions and ruin.

5. "About the Sacred Trinity," he saith, "that the Quakers cannot, dare not honestly declare the same, in the same sense the compilers of the Act of Toleration understood the words, viz. That God the Father is a distinct person from Jesus Christ, and from the Holy Spirit; and that they are such a Three, as neither are, nor can be more or less than 'Three,'" p. 11.

Answer. We hope we are not justly chargeable with heresy, for confessing the blessed Trinity or Divine Three, in Holy Scripture terms, according as is declar-

ed in the said act, viz. "That we, the said people, do profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son, and in the Holy Spirit, One God blessed for ever."

Though this profession and confession has given satisfaction to the civil government, as being both Christian and scriptural, yet it does not satisfy the said rector; but he will needs make himself an expositor of the sense and understanding of the law-makers, p. 11, and would impose other terms than the law requires in the case. We think it very unfair and uncharitable, to be deemed guilty of heresy for not confessing our faith in unscriptural terms; while we confess the Eternal Deity in plain Scripture terms, also allowed of by act of parliament, as the Father, the Son, and Holy Spirit, *Matt. xxviii. 19. 1 John v. 7*, and their union in the Divine Essence.

Observe, Edward Cockson, M. A. rector, so called, in order to have the people called Quakers punished, thus proceeds to instances, viz.

Page 5. "God hath imprinted it in the hearts of all mankind; to vindicate his honour, and to punish all that are under their jurisdiction who dishonour Him. Thus Artaxerxes, king of Persia, having granted to the Jews that were in his dominions, that as many of them as pleased might return with Ezra to Jerusalem, he thereupon makes a decree for the establishment of the true worship of the true God, &c. And mark what follows: 'Whosoever will not do the law of thy God, and the law of the king, let judgment be executed speedily upon him, whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment,' *Ezra vii. 13. 25, 26.* And Ezra blessed God for this decree, and put it in execution accordingly," *Ezra x. 7, 8.*

Whereupon I query of the said Convocation, viz.

Query 1. How can this instance warrant or excuse persecution against peaceable dissenting protestants, either to death, banishment, confiscation of goods, or imprisonment, for worshipping the true God as per-

suaded in conscience, though differing in manner or form from that which is national?

2. Did not the said king of Persia grant free liberty of conscience to the Jews, to worship the God of heaven as it was imprinted in their hearts, or they persuaded according to his laws? Where was then any compulsion to the contrary, so as to enforce them to any national worship of the Persians or other nations?

3. And was not Artaxerxes, king of Persia, both charitable and generous to Israel, in granting them such free liberty as that as many of them as were minded, of their own free will, should go up to Jerusalem with Ezra? Also affording them great accommodation and encouragement, *Ezra vii.*; as also did Cyrus, king of Persia, before him, *chap. i.*

4. And did not the Lord put it into the hearts of these great kings, to grant this free religious liberty and encouragement unto his people?

5. And did they not therein excel all persecuting kings and emperors, and all such priests as would incense rulers to persecute us for our religion and conscience towards God?

6. But will nothing serve or please your rector now, against the Quakers, but either the penalty of death, or banishment, or confiscation of goods, or imprisonment? These have been tried already, in great measure, for their peaceable, religious, and solemn assemblies; though the said king of Persia could never intend those penalties against Israel for their religion or worship, having so greatly encouraged them therein.

Rector, p. 6. "He only who was supreme was properly *custos utriusque tabulæ*, to him was committed the care to punish murderers, adulterers, and thieves, &c. and also idolaters, blasphemers, false prophets, &c. none of which he was to tolerate, but to root them out of his dominions, *Exod. xxii. 18, 20. Deut. xiii. 1, 2, 3, 5. xvii. 2-7, 12. Lev. xxiv. 16*, with many other places. Now that these commands are obligatory to Christian magistrates, under the Gospel administration also, will

appear if we consider, 1st, That none of them were ever revoked, repealed, or cancelled by Christ or any of his apostles. 2ndly, Ratio immutabilis facit præceptum immutabile, the very same reasons for which these commandments were at first given, remain still and are as strong as ever. Blasphemies, idolatries, and false prophecies are the same sins still, and God is the same God still, and hates these sins as much now as ever."

Whereupon I enquire of the Convocation :

Q. 1. Are you of the same judgment or opinion with your rector, that blasphemers and false prophets and false teachers are to be stoned to death by Christian magistrates, under the Gospel administration, as blasphemers and false prophets were under the law of Moses, *Deut. xiii.* quoted by the rector? And must Gospel ministers now be judges in cases of life and death, as priests were then? *Deut. xvii. 9-12.*

Rector, p. 7. "And God has the same power to punish now as ever. If therefore God hath at any time forbidden those sins, He forbids them still; and the same punishments that by his command were once to be inflicted for them, are still to be inflicted, till they are by Him revoked or altered; for where the same causes for the same punishments are perpetual, there the same punishments ought to be perpetual also."

2. Note, under the administration of the law of Moses, and Old Covenant, not only false prophets, blasphemers, and idolaters, &c. but also sabbath-breakers, rebellious sons to their parents, as drunkards, riotous persons, whoremongers, and adulterers, were to be stoned to death, *Lev. xx. 2. xxiv. 14, 15. Numb. xv. 35, 36. Deut. xiii. 5, 10. xvii. 5, xxi. 21. and xxii. 21, 24.*

3. Are you of the same judgment with your rector in these cases, that all such offenders as mentioned should be stoned to death, under the Gospel administration, by Christian magistrates?

4. And would it not affect and somewhat thin your own society or Church, to have all whoremongers and

adulterers, rebellious sons and false teachers stoned to death? And would not that make sad and bloody work in the land? Or would that be the way to convert such offenders, or send them to heaven?

5. Has your rector in these cases preached like a minister of Christ, of the Gospel or New Testament?

6. Did our blessed Lord Jesus Christ give sentence against the woman taken in adultery, that she should be stoned to death? Or rather did He not show more mercy to her than her accusers and persecutors would have done, when He convicted and silenced them, and said unto her: "Hath no man condemned thee?" "No, Lord," said she. "Neither do I condemn thee," said He; "go and sin no more," *John viii. 3-11.*

Rector, p. 7. "The New Testament is so far from repealing those laws, (that is, of the Old,) that it rather more strongly enforces them. For the apostle having exhorted us to hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering, &c. *Heb. x. 23-27*, he adds, *ver. 28, 29*: "He that despised Moses' law, died without mercy under two or three witnesses: of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God," &c. The whole place seems to have respect to such heretics as deny Christ Jesus, and the efficacy of his blood, as it is plain the Quakers do," &c.

Q. 1. What sorer punishment would your rector have inflicted upon the Quakers than death?

Note, but he is a false accuser and an unjust judge therein, and this charge against the Quakers mentioned, is utterly false, and contrary to our Christian principle, of our love and respect to our dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and his precious blood, &c.

2. But if we were guilty of error or heresy in this, or any other point of Christianity, were it not more Christian for your rector, in a Gospel spirit, to endeavour our conviction and conversion by Holy Scripture, on a true state of matter of fact, than to endeavour our destruction, or to have us stoned to death, or our brains

knocked out? we being really unwilling to be tenacious in any error, if convicted thereof. May we not say: "From all such cruel, hard hearted, and unmerciful men, good Lord deliver us?"

Rector, p. 7. *ibid.* "This very thing was prophesied of, even in Gospel times, that in those very days false prophets should be cut off, *Zech.* xiii. 2, 3. And St. Peter makes false prophets and false teachers to be equivalent, *2 Pet.* ii. 1, &c."

Whereupon I enquire of the Convocation:

Q. 1. Does your judgment agree with your rector's concerning that prophecy, *Zech.* xiii. 2, 3; that is, that the same was intended for Gospel times, or that under the New Testament or Gospel administration, false prophets and false teachers should be cut off by the magistrate's sword, or stoned to death?

Note, of false prophets, mentioned *Zech.* xiii. 2, 3, who were to be cut off, *ver.* 3, it is said: "And when any shall yet prophesy, his father and his mother that begat him shall say unto him, thou shalt not live, for thou speakest lies in the name of the Lord; and his father and his mother shall thrust him through when he prophesieth."

2. Must his father and mother then be his executioners in the Gospel times, literally taken, as your rector seems to carry the text, *Zech.* xiii. 2, 3, to have such as he deems false prophets and hereticks, &c. cut off and put to death? And if by their fathers and mothers, what bloody, unnatural, and inhuman work would this make among professed Christians, for parents to kill their own children!

3. And where do you find any texts in the New Testament, enforcing the killing or stoning to death either false prophets, blasphemers, or heretics? but admonition, rejection, or leaving them to the judgment of God, if obstinate and impenitent; and giving open warning to others against such, and their pernicious doctrines, practices, and destruction, as the holy apostles did, *2 Pet.* ii. and *Jude's* epistle, &c.

Seeing your said rector, Edward Cockson, appears so zealous for the law of Moses and that of the king of Persia, *Ezra* vii. 26, to be executed upon such as he judges heretics, blasphemers, false prophets, false teachers, and idolaters, &c.

I would ask him or any of you his brethren these questions :

Q. 1. If you do not deem the papists heretics, idolaters, and blasphemers, in their doctrine and belief of transubstantiation, their eucharist, their sacrament of the altar, and adoration given thereunto, as to Christ Jesus his body and blood ?

2. Would you have them cut off or stoned to death, who are of that persuasion and religion or profession with the Church of Rome, or only the Quakers ?

3. Would it be either Christian or safe for any, esteemed protestant ministers, to follow papists' examples, so as to excite the supreme magistrate or civil government, to cut off or put to death those whom they think or judge heretics, blasphemers, idolaters, &c.

4. Does not the Church of Rome judge all, both you and us, who dissent from that Church, to be heretics ? And what is the consequence aimed at thereby, but to cut off all such dissenters, if such a persecuting power should be permitted to prevail ? So that according to this rector's notion, may not protestants cut off all papists, and papists cut off all protestants ; and so all professors of Christianity become extinct ?

5. Are not persecutors apt to misapply those laws intended against notorious offenders, to condemn, punish, and destroy the innocent and the righteous ; as did the Jews who stoned the prophets ? *2 Chron.* xxiv. 21. *Matt.* xxi. 35. xxiii. 37. *Luke* xiii. 34. And they took up stones to stone Christ, falsely charging Him with blasphemy, *John* x. 31-33. xi. 8. And they stoned Stephen, *Acts* vii. 58, 59. And they stoned Paul for preaching the Gospel of Christ Jesus, *Acts* xiv. 19.

6. Can you reasonably suppose it will be for the honour of your Church, to allow of any of your brethren

ren, rectors, ministers, or members, to endeavour to incense the government to severe persecution, as this your rector Edward Cockson has done ?

Although I have endeavoured to be brief in this enquiry, yet I am concerned, on retrospection, to add something further.

Whereas the said rector would have the supreme magistrate not only the *custos utriusque tabulæ*, which is a high undertaking; and would have the care committed to him of punishing not only murderers, adulterers, and thieves, &c. but also all idolaters, blasphemers, and false prophets, so as not to tolerate any of them, but to root them out of his dominions, p. 6: here he has cut out heavy work for the supreme magistrate and governors. But who must be judge, and upon whose evidence. If the priest and levite, or invidious persecuting rector, we may expect no compassion, no mercy nor justice from him or them, who prejudged and condemned us and our case without proof, or any just or clear evidence of matter of fact. As this our arbitrary judge and dictator has passed his judgment, and black characters of idolaters, blasphemers, and false prophets, even unto banishment and death, &c. beforehand; without any judicial trial or Gospel administration or law thereof, for the punishments assigned by him; to make the civil magistrate rather a breaker of the two tables, than *custos utriusque tabulæ*. For this adversary's invectives do not tend to excite the civil magistrate either to justice or to that love which is the fulfilling and end of the law or decalogue, but to extreme severity and persecution against his neighbours; which is far from loving his neighbour as himself. It would become him and his brethren to be better examples and preachers, in spirit, conversation, and doctrine, than any of them to be incendiaries to the persecution and ruin of their quiet neighbours.

And whereas our persecuting adversary would have the same severities inflicted upon those he deems here-

tics, &c. under the Gospel administration, as were commanded to be inflicted under the legal upon blasphemers, &c.; let us a little farther examine his proofs.

If *Rom.* xiii. 4. be insisted upon, and it be thence inferred that the magistrate should execute wrath upon false teachers, &c. because he bears not the sword in vain; surely the holy apostle did not intend that the magistrate, in the Gospel day, should kill or cut off false teachers, or cause them to be stoned to death who are mistaken in some doctrine or prophecy; but rather that they should be better persuaded, convinced, and converted by sound doctrine.

And in his exhorting to be subject to the higher powers, *Rom.* xiii. 1. he could not mean, that the Christian believers in Christ, then in Rome or elsewhere, should subject their faith, religion, conscience, and worship, to the wills of heathen emperors at Rome, or to the kings or rulers of the earth who were of different religions; for then there would have been no persecutions, no martyrs of Jesus Christ under the Roman emperors or others, as there were: if their subjection had been such, they must only have been of the ruler's religion, whether idolater, papist, mahometan, &c. It is no Christian argument therefore, to strain the text *Rom.* xiii. to such an uncertain, unchristian, and I may say, irreligious subjection; and not that of true Christians and martyrs of Jesus, who rather submitted to deep sufferings than violate their conscience or Christian religion.

1. The punishment mentioned *Heb.* x. 28, 29, of such adversaries, rebellious and hardened apostates and contemners of Christ and the blood of his covenant, appears not to be intended of such like temporal punishment or death by the magistrate, as that was to him that despised Moses's law under that dispensation; but rather divine vengeance or fiery indignation from God, to devour such adversaries and wilful contemners of the Truth. See *Heb.* x.

Certainly if any persons do so backslide, and become

such wilful sinners and adversaries against Christ and his Gospel Dispensation, after they have received the knowledge of the Truth, they do not only lose and forfeit the blessed effects and benefits of Christ's sacrifice, blood, and atonement, but do incur much heavier and sorer punishment from the hand of God, as Judge, than that of a temporal death to the despisers of Moses's law.

Our God is and will be a consuming fire to his adversaries and enemies, who continue in rebellion against Him, his Light, Truth, and Spirit of Grace, doing despite thereunto: and it is and will be a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God; when there remains no more a sacrifice for sin, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation to devour the adversaries.

2. But now as we profess Christianity and the dispensation of Christ and of the New Covenant of mercy and grace, &c. let us consider what punishments did ever Christ or his Gospel ministers assign, or excite the civilmagistrates unto, against persons in error or heresy? Did they tell them they must banish them or hang them, or burn them, or stone them to death? I think not. I find no such precept in the New Testament.

The sadducees who believed no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit, *Matt. xxii. 23. Mark xii. 18. Luke xx. 27. Acts xxiii. 8*; did Christ deliver them into the hands of the magistrates, to punish them or stone them to death, according to the law of Moses? No, surely! He rather told them: "Ye err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God;" and taught them better, to convince them of their error and to persuade them out of it.

And the man that was an heretic, what punishment did the holy apostle assign or direct against him? but after admonition once or twice to reject him?

And to have "no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness; but rather to reprove them."

And as we freely acknowledge magistracy or the civil government to be God's ordinance, appointed for

the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well; so they that undertake that office and trust upon them, had need to be careful that they do not condemn the innocent and acquit the guilty; and that they be tender of men's lives, liberties, and properties, especially where no overt act, demeriting such penalties, can be proved. And also that they be careful not to condemn persons upon reports and defamations of invidious or mercenary informers; as Saul, upon the report of Doeg the Edomite, caused fourscore and five of the Lord's priests then to be slain, even by the mischievous Edomite, when Saul's own servants or footmen would not do it, 1 *Sam.* xxii. 18.

"He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God; and he shall be as the light of the morning when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds; as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining after rain," 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 3, 4. So that the just ruler in the fear of God, must have a clear understanding and judgment in the fear of God and his Light, therein to shine in justice, righteousness, mercy, and truth; which will be to the great comfort and refreshment of the righteous and tender in heart, who truly fear God.

It is mercy and truth whereby the king's throne is established; without which, thrones are tottering, shaken, and soon overturned. And therefore all men in power and authority should diligently mind God's power and wisdom, whereby they may stand and rule in righteousness. For saith that Wisdom: "By me kings reign, and princes decree justice: by me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth," *Prov.* viii. 15, 16.

It is not because they are made kings or princes, that that they reign and rule, and decree justice and are established; but because they are under Wisdom's conduct who are just men and rulers fearing God, before whom they must appear, and be accountable to Him as their Judge, who is the righteous Judge of all.

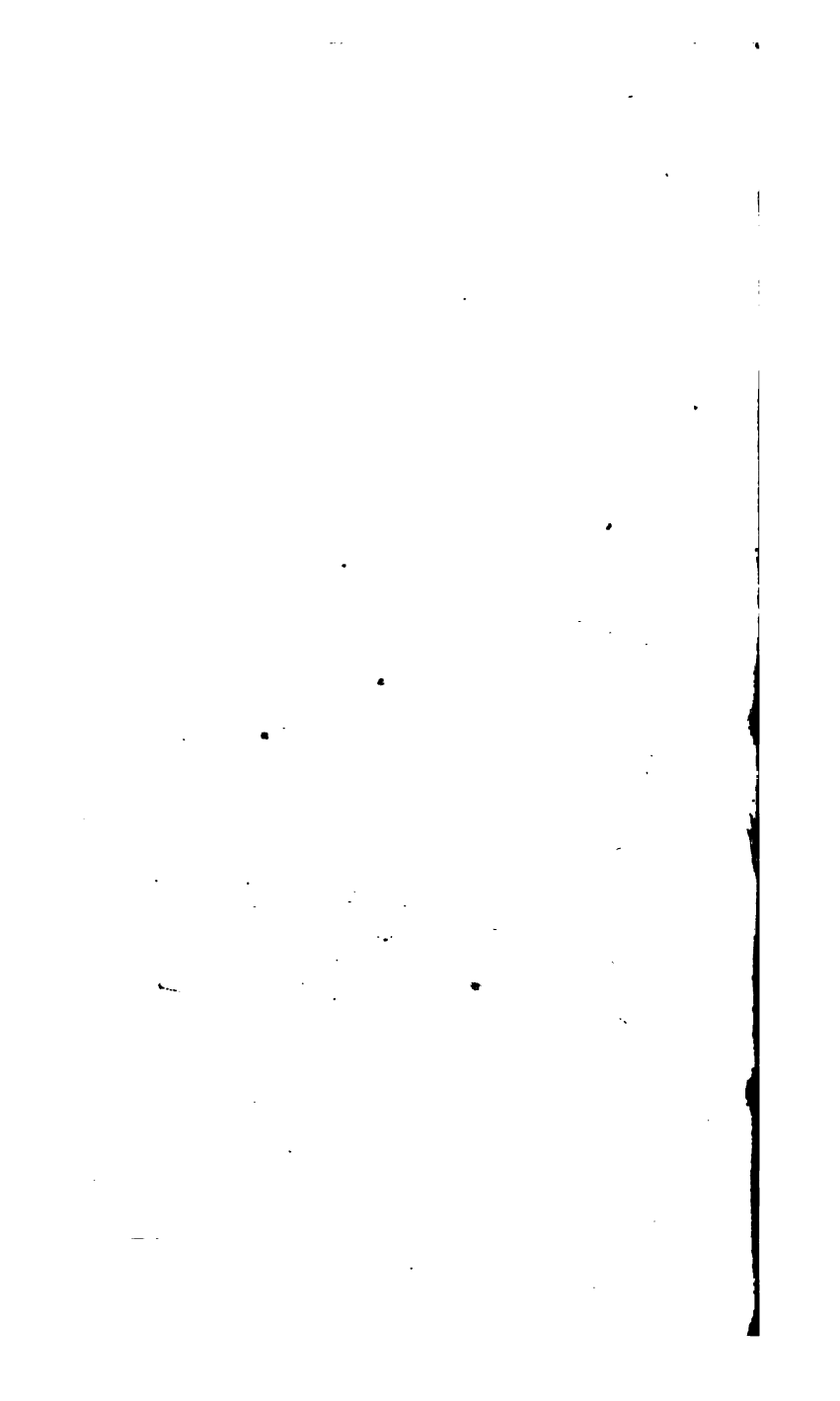
To conclude, if any should suppose that I have reflected too hardly upon our adversary the rector, which may affect others of his function, I may sincerely tell them :

1. I never met with any persecuting adversary, that has written more invidiously to incense the government to extreme persecution against us, &c. than he has done ; as appears to me and many others.

2. I have not at all designed to cast his offence upon any others of his function or priesthood, who are not guilty of the same or like offence, nor countenancers or approvers thereof ; as I believe many of them are not, but of a better principle, nature, and temper, than to endeavour to raise persecution, to ruin their honest, peaceable neighbours for religion and conscience : as the difference is apparent, by the severe persecutions our Friends meet withal from some of the clergy, and the moderation of others.

I pray God in mercy humble and subject all to his wisdom and conduct, by his divine power.

. G. W.



THE
CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE
AND
SOCIETY
OF THE
People called Quakers,

CLEARED FROM

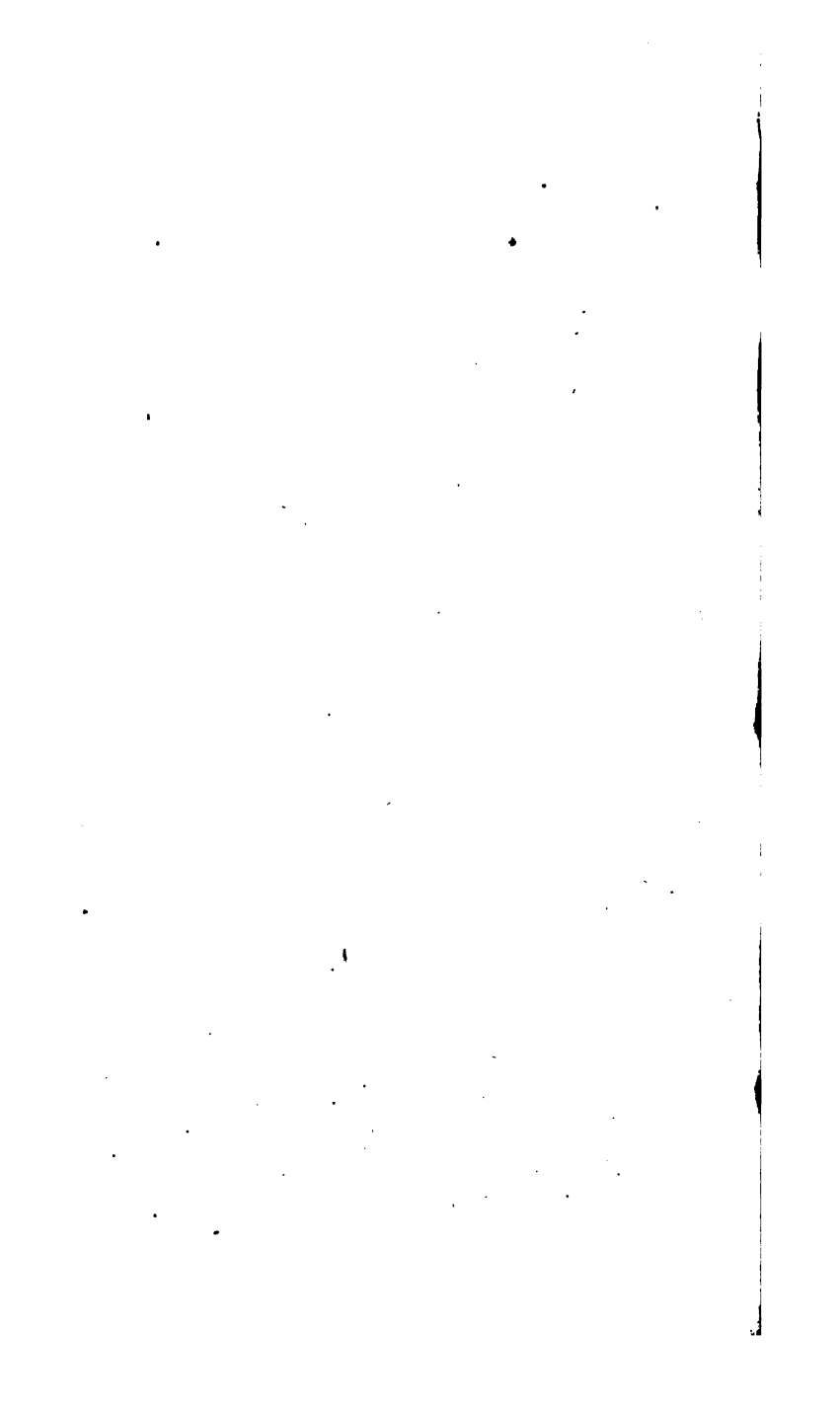
THE REPROACH OF THE LATE DIVISION OF A FEW
IN SOME PART OF AMERICA ;

As not being justly chargeable upon the Body of the
said People, there or elsewhere.

Printed in the Year 1693.

Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them diligently which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them, *Rom. xvi. 17.*

Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking, be put away from you, with all malice. And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven you, *Ephes. iv. 31, 32.*



THE

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE, &c.

WHEREAS divers accounts have been lately published in print, of some late division and disputes between some persons under the name of Quakers, in Pennsylvania, about several fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, (as it is pretended by one party,) which being particularly mentioned, and thereupon occasion very unduly taken by our adversaries, to reproach both the Christian ministry and the whole body of the people commonly called Quakers, and their holy and Christian profession, both in England and elsewhere, though no way concerned in the said divisions or matters charged ; but rather grieved and troubled at it, and at the indiscreet and reproachful management thereof in print, to the amusing and troubling the world therewith, and giving occasion to the loose, ignorant, and profane, to slight and condemn the Truth, and the interest of the tender religion of our Lord Jesus Christ ;

We are therefore tenderly concerned for Truth's sake in behalf of the said people, (as to the body of them, and for all of them who are sincere to God, and faithful to their Christian principle and profession,) to use our just endeavours to remove the reproach, and all causeless jealousies concerning us, touching those doctrines of Christianity, or any of them pretended or supposed, to be in question in the said division ; in relation whereunto we do, in the fear of God, and in simplicity and plainness of his Truth received, solemnly and sincerely declare, what our Christian belief and

profession has been, and still is, in respect to Jesus Christ the only begotten Son of God; his suffering, death, resurrection, glory, light, power, great day of judgment, &c.

We sincerely profess faith in God by his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, as being our Light and Life, our only way to the Father, and also our only Mediator and Advocate with the Father.*

That God created all things; He made the worlds by his Son Jesus Christ, He being that powerful and Living Word of God by whom all things were made,† and that the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit are one in divine being inseperable; one true, living, and eternal God blessed for ever.‡

Yet that this Word or Son of God, in the fulness of time took flesh, became perfect man—according to the flesh descended and came of the seed of Abraham and David,|| but was miraculously conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary.§ And also further declared powerfully to be the Son of God, according to the spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection from the dead.¶

That in the Word or Son of God, was life; and the same life was the Light of men; and that He was that true Light which enlightens every man coming into the world.** And therefore that men are to believe in the Light, that they may become children of the Light.†† Hereby we believe in Christ the Son of God, as He is the Light and Life within us; and wherein we must needs have sincere respect and honour to and belief in Christ, as in his own unapproachable and incomprehensible glory and fulness,‡‡ as He is the Fountain of Life and Light, and giver thereof unto us; Christ, as in himself and as in us, being not divided. And that, as man, Christ died for our sins, rose again,

* Heb. xii. 2. 1 Pet. i. 21. John xiv. 6. 1 Tim. ii. v. † Ephes. iii. 9. John i. 1, 2, 3. Heb. i. 2. ‡ 1 John v. 7. || Rom. i. 3, 4. § Mat. i. 23. ¶ Rom. i. 3, 4. ** John i. 4. 9. †† John xii. 36. Isa. ii. 5. ‡‡ 1 Tim. vi. 16.

and was received up into glory in the heavens:*. He having, in his dying for all, been that one great universal offering and sacrifice for peace, atonement, and reconciliation between God and man.† And He is the propitiation not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world.‡ We were reconciled by his death, but saved by his life.

That Jesus Christ who sitteth at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens, is yet our King, High Priest, and Prophet;|| in his church a minister of the sanctuary and of the true tabernacle which the Lord pitched and not man.§ He is Intercessor and Advocate with the Father in heaven, and there appearing in the presence of God for us;¶ being touched with the feeling of our infirmities, sufferings, and sorrows; and also by his Spirit in our hearts He maketh intercession according to the will of God, crying, Abba, Father.**

For any whom God hath gifted†† and called sincerely to preach faith in the same Christ, both as within and without us, cannot be to preach two Christs, but one and the same Lord Jesus Christ;‡‡ having respect to those degrees of our spiritual knowledge of Christ Jesus in us,||| and to his own unspeakable fulness and glory§§, as in Himself, in his own entire being; wherein Christ Himself and the least measure of his light or life as in us or in mankind, are not divided nor separable, any more than the sun is from its light. And as He ascended far above all heavens, that He might fill all things,¶¶ his fulness cannot be comprehended or con-

* 1 Pet. iii. 18. † 1 Tim. iii. 16. Mat. xix. 28, and xxv. 31. Luke ix. 26, and xxiv. 26. ‡ Rom. v. 10, 11. Heb. ii. 17, 18. Ephes. ii. 16, 17. Col. i. 20, 21, 22. † 1 John ii. 2. 2 Cor. v. 14, 15. Heb. ii. 9. ¶ Zech. ix. 9. Luke xix. 38. John xii. 15. Heb. iii. 1. 6. Deut. xviii. 15. 18. Acts iii. 22. and vii. 37. § Heb. viii. 1, 2. ¶ Heb. vii. 25. Heb. ix. 24. ** Rom. viii. 26, 27, 34. Gal. iv. 6. †† Ephes. iii. 7. 1 Peter iv. 10. ‡‡ 1 Cor. viii. 6. xv. iii. 8. ||| John xv. 26, and xvi. 13, 14, 15. §§ John i. 16. ¶¶ Ephes. iv. 10.

tained in any finite creature,* but is in measure known and experienced in us, as we are capable to receive the same; as of his fulness we have received grace for grace. Christ our Mediator received the Spirit, not by measure† but in fulness; but to every one of us is given grace, according to the measure of his gift.‡

That the Gospel of the grace of God should be preached in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,|| being one§ in power, wisdom, and goodness, and indivisible, or not to be divided in the great work of man's salvation.

We sincerely confess and believe in Jesus Christ, both as He is true God and perfect man,¶ and that He is the Author of our living faith in the power and goodness of God, as manifest in his Son Jesus Christ, and by his own blessed Spirit or Divine Unction revealed in us,** whereby we inwardly feel and taste of his goodness,†† life and virtue; so as our souls live and prosper by and in Him, and in the inward sense of this Divine Power of Christ, and faith in the same; and this inward experience is absolutely necessary to make a true, sincere, and perfect Christian in spirit and life.

That Divine honour and worship is due to the Son of God;‡‡ and that He is in true faith to be prayed unto, and the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ called upon, as the primitive Christians did,|||, because of the glorious union or oneness of the Father and the Son;§§ and that we cannot acceptably offer up prayers or praises to God, nor receive a gracious answer or blessing from God, but in and through his dear Son Christ.

That Christ's body which was crucified, was not the Godhead, yet by the power of God was raised from the dead; and that the same Christ who was therein crucified, ascended into heaven and glory¶¶ is not ques-

* Col. i. 19. and ii. 9. † John iii. 34. ‡ Ephes. iv. 7. || Mat. xxviii. 19. § John i. 1, 2, 3, 4. ¶ John i. 1, 2. Rom. ix. 5. 1 John v. 20. 1 Tim. ii. 5. ** 1 John ii. 20. ¶¶ and i. 1. †† 1 Peter ii. 3. John vi. 33. 35. 51. 57, 58. ‡‡ John v. 23. Heb. i. 6. ||| 1 Cor. i. 2. Acts vii. 59. §§ John x. 30. 1 John v. 7. ¶¶ Luke xxiv. 26.

tioned by us. His flesh saw no corruption;* it did not corrupt; but yet doubtless his body was changed into a more glorious† and heavenly condition than it was when subject to divers sufferings on earth; but how and what manner of change it met withal after it was raised from the dead, so as to become such a glorious body as it is declared to be, is too wonderful for mortals to conceive, apprehend, or pry into; and more meet for angels to see. The Scripture is silent therein, as to the manner thereof, and we are not curious to enquire or dispute it; nor do we esteem it necessary to make ourselves wise above‡ what is written, as to the manner or condition of Christ's glorious body as in heaven, any more than to enquire how Christ appeared in divers manners or forms,|| or how He came in among his disciples, the door being shut;§ or how He vanished out of their sight, after He was risen. However, we have cause to believe his body, as in heaven, is changed into a most glorious condition, far transcending what it was in on earth; otherwise how should our low body be changed, so as to be made like unto his glorious body;¶ for when He was on earth, and attended with sufferings, He was said to be like unto us in all things, sin only excepted:** which may not be said of Him as now in a state of glory, as He prayed for;†† otherwise where would be the change both in Him and us?

True and living faith in Christ Jesus the Son of the Living God,‡‡ has respect to his entire being and fullness; to Him entirely, as in Himself, and as all power in heaven and earth is given unto him;||| and also an eye and respect to the same Son of God,§§ as inwardly making Himself known in the soul in every degree of his Light, Life, Spirit, Grace, and Truth; and as He

* Psalm xvi. 10. Acts ii. 31, and xiii. 35. 37. † Phil. iii. 21. ‡ 1 Cor. iv. 4. 6. || Mark xvi. 12. John xx. 15. § John xx. 19. Luke xxiv. 36, 37, and xxiv. 31. ¶ Phil. iii. 21. ** Heb. ii. 17, and iv. 15. †† John xvii. 5. ‡‡ John xiv. 1. ||| Mat. xxviii. 18. xi. 27. John xvii. 2. Heb. i. 4. ii. 8. §§ John xiv. 23. xvii. 21, 22, 23, 24. 26.

is both the Word of Faith and a Quickening Spirit in us,* whereby He is the immediate cause, author, object, and strength of our living faith in his Name and Power, and of the work of our salvation from sin and bondage of corruption. And the Son of God cannot be divided from the least or lowest appearance of his own Divine Light or Life in us or in mankind, no more than the sun from its own light; nor is the sufficiency of his Light within, by us set up in opposition to Him the Man Christ, or his fulness considered as in Himself, or without us; nor can any measure or degree of light received from Christ, as such, be properly called the fulness of Christ, or Christ as in fulness, nor exclude Him, so considered, from being our complete Saviour: for Christ himself to be our Light, our Life and Saviour,† is so consistent, that without his Light we could not know life, nor Him to save us from sin or deliver us from darkness, condemnation or wrath to come.

And where the least degree or measure of this Light and Life of Christ within, is sincerely waited for, followed, and obeyed, there is a blessed increase of light and grace known and felt: as the path of the just, it shines more and more until the perfect day;‡ and thereby a growing in grace, and in the knowledge of God, and of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, hath been and is truly experienced. And this Light, Life, or Spirit of Christ within, for they are one Divine Principle, is sufficient to lead into all truth, having in it the divers ministrations both of judgment and mercy, both of law and gospel; even that gospel which is preached in every intelligent creature under heaven. It does not only, as in its first ministration, manifest sin, and reprove and condemn for sin; but also excites and leads them that believe in it to true repentance, and thereupon to receive that mercy, pardon, and redemption in Christ Jesus, which He has obtained for mankind, on

* 1 Cor. xv. 45. Rom. x. 7, 8. † John i. 4. 9. iii. 19, 20. x. ii. 35, 36. 49. viii. 12. ‡ Prov. iv. 18. Ps. xxxvi. 9.

those gospel terms of faith in his Name, true repentance, and conversion to Christ, thereby required.

So that the Light and Life of the Son of God within, truly obeyed and followed, as being the principle of the second or new covenant, as Christ the Light is confessed to be, even as He is the Seed or Word of Faith in all men ; this does not leave men or women who believe in the Light, under the first covenant, nor as sons of the bond-woman, as the literal Jews were when gone from the Spirit of God and his Christ in them ; but it naturally leads them into the new covenant, into the new and living way, and to the adoption of sons, to be children and sons of the free-woman, of Jerusalem from above.

It is true that we ought not to lay aside, nor should any undervalue, but highly esteem true preaching and the Holy Scriptures, and the sincere belief and faith of Christ as He died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, together with Christ's inward and spiritual appearance and work of grace in the soul, livingly to open the mystery of his death, and perfectly to effect our reconciliation, sanctification, and justification ; and wherever Christ qualifies and calls any to preach and demonstrate the mystery of his coming, death, and resurrection, &c. even among the gentiles, Christ ought accordingly to be both preached, and believed and received.

Yet supposing that there have been, or are such pious and conscientious gentiles, in whom Christ was and is as the Seed or Principle of the second or new covenant, the Light, the Word of Faith, as is granted, and that such live uprightly and faithfully to that Light they have, or to what is made known of God in them, and who, therefore, in that state, cannot perish, but shall be saved, as is also confessed ; and supposing these have not the outward advantage of preaching, Scripture, or thence the knowledge of Christ's outward coming, and being outwardly crucified and risen from the dead, can such, thus considered, be justly excluded

Christianity, or the covenant of grace, as to the virtue, life, and nature thereof, or truly deemed no Christians, or void of any Christian faith in the life and power of the Son of God within, or be only sons of the first covenant and bondwoman, like the literal outside Jews? Or must all be excluded any true knowledge or faith of Christ within them, unless they have the knowledge of Christ as without them? No sure! for that would imply insufficiency in Christ and his Light as within them, and frustrate God's good end and promise of Christ, and his free and universal love and grace to mankind in sending his Son. We charitably believe the contrary, that they must have some true faith and interest in Christ and his mediation, because of God's free love in Christ to all mankind, and Christ's dying for all men*, and being given for a Light of the gentiles, and for salvation to the ends of the earth.† And because of their living up sincerely and faithfully to his Light in them, their being pious, conscientious, accepted, and saved, as is granted, we cannot reasonably think a sincere, pious, or godly man, wholly void of Christianity, of what nation soever he may be; because none can come to God or godliness but by Christ,‡ by his Light and Grace in them; yet grant if there be such pious and sincere men or women as have not the Scripture, or knowledge of Christ as outwardly crucified, &c. they are not perfect Christians in all perfections, as in all knowledge, and understanding all points of doctrine, and outward profession of Christ; so that they are better than they profess or pretend to be; they are more Jews inward and Christians inward than in outward show or profession.

There are Christians sincere and perfect in kind or nature, in life and substance, though not in knowledge and understanding. A man or woman having the life and fruits of true Christianity, the fruits of the Spirit of

* 2 Cor. v. 14, 15. † Isaiah xlix. 6. Luke ii. 32. Acts xiii 47. ‡ John xiv. 6.

Christ in them, who can talk little thereof, or of creeds, points or articles of faith, yea, many that cannot read letters, yet may be true Christians in spirit and life; and some could die for Christ that could not dispute for Him. And even infants that die in innocency, are not excluded the grace of God, or salvation in and by Christ Jesus; the image and nature of the Son of God being in some measure in them, and they under God's care and special providence. See *Matthew*, xviii. 2. 10.

And though we had the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and a belief of Christ crucified and risen, &c. we never truly knew the mystery thereof until we were turned to the Light of his Grace and Spirit within us; we knew not what it was to be reconciled by his death, and saved by his life, or what it was to know the fellowship of his sufferings, the power of his resurrection, or to be made conformable unto his death—we knew not, until He opened our eyes and turned our minds from darkness unto his own Divine Light and Life within us.

Notwithstanding, we do so sincerely and greatly esteem and value the Holy Scriptures, preaching, and teaching of faithful, divinely inspired, gifted, and qualified persons and ministers of Jesus Christ, as being great outward helps, and instrumental in his hand, and by his Spirit for conversion; where God is pleased to afford those outward helps and means; as that we neither do nor may oppose the sufficiency of the Light or Spirit of Christ within to such outward helps or means, so as to reject, disesteem, or undervalue them; for they all proceed from the same Light and Spirit, and tend to turn men's minds thereunto, and all centre therein.

Nor can the Holy Scriptures or true preaching without, be justly set in opposition to the Light or Spirit of God or Christ within; for his faithful messengers are ministers thereof, being sent to turn people to the same Light and Spirit in them.*

* Acts xxvi. 18. Rom. xii. 2. 2 Cor. iv. 6. 1 Pet. ii. 9. 1 John ii. 8.

It is certain that great is the mystery of godliness in itself, in its own being and excellency, namely, that God should be and was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the gentiles, believed on in the world, and received up into glory.

And it is a great and precious mystery of godliness and Christianity also, that Christ should be spiritually and effectually in men's hearts, to save and deliver them from sin, satan, and bondage of corruption; Christ being thus revealed in true believers, and dwelling in their hearts by faith: Christ within the hope of glory, our light and life, who of God is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, 1 Cor. i. 30. And therefore this mystery of godliness, both as in its own being and glory, and also as in men, in many hid and in some revealed, hath been and must be testified, preached, and believed, where God is pleased to give commission and prepare people's hearts for the same, and not in man's will.

Concerning the resurrection of the dead, and the great day of judgment yet to come, beyond the grave or after death, and Christ's coming without us, to judge the quick and the dead, as divers questions are put in such terms; what the Holy Scriptures plainly declare and testify in these matters, we have great reason to credit and not to question, and have been always ready to embrace with respect to Christ and his apostles' own testimony and prophecies.

1. *For the doctrine of the Resurrection.*

If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable, 1 Cor. xv. 19. We sincerely believe not only a resurrection in Christ from the fallen sinful state here, but a rising and ascending into glory with Him hereafter; that when He at last appears we may appear with him in glory, Col. iii. 4. 1 John iii. 2. But that all the wicked, who live in rebellion against the Light of Grace, and die finally impenitent, shall come forth to the resurrection of condemnation.

And that the soul or spirit of every man and woman shall be reserved in its own distinct and proper being, so as there shall be as many souls in the world to come as in this ; and every seed, yea every soul, shall have its proper body, as God is pleased to give it, 1 Cor. xv. A natural body is sown, a spiritual body is raised ; that being first which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual. And though it is said this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality ; the change shall be such as flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God ; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption, 1 Cor. xv. We shall be raised out of all corruption and corruptibility, out of all mortality ; and the children of God and of the resurrection, shall be equal to the angels of God in heaven.*

And as the celestial bodies do far excel terrestrial ; so we expect our spiritual bodies in the resurrection shall far excel what our bodies now are ; and we hope none can justly blame us for thus expecting better bodies than now they are. Howbeit we esteem it very unnecessary to dispute or question how the dead are raised, or with what body they come ; but rather submit that to the wisdom and pleasure of Almighty God.

2. *For the doctrine of Eternal Judgment.*

God hath committed all judgment unto his Son Jesus Christ ; and He is Judge both of quick and dead, and of the states and ends of all mankind, *John v. 22. 27. Acts x. 42. 2 Tim. iv. 1. 1 Pet. iv. 5.*

That there shall be hereafter a great harvest, which is the end of the world, a great day of judgment, and the judgment of that great day, the Holy Scripture is clear.† When the Son of Man cometh in his glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of his glory, and before Him shall be gathered all nations, &c. *Mat. xxv. 31, 32. to the end, compared with chap. xxii. 31. Mark viii. 38. Luke ix. 26.*

* Matthew xxii. 30. Mark xii. 25, Luke xx. 36.

† Mat. xiii. 39, 40, 41. x. 15. xi. 24. Jude 6.

and 1 *Cor.* xv. 52. 2 *Thes.* i. 7, 8. to the end, and 1 *Thes.* iv. 16. *Rev.* xx. 12, 13, 14, 15.

That this blessed Heavenly Man, this Son of Man, who hath so deeply suffered, and endured so many great indignities and persecutions from his adversaries, both to Himself and his members and brethren, will at last, even in the last and great day, signally and manifestly appear in glory and triumph, attended with all his glorious heavenly host and retinue, before all nations, before all his enemies and those that have denied Him. This will be to their great terror and amazement: that this most glorious Heavenly Man and his brethren, that have been so much contemned and set at nought, should be thus exalted over their enemies and persecutors, in glory and triumph, is a righteous thing with God; and that they that suffer with Him, should appear with Him in glory and dignity when He thus appears at last. Christ was Judge of the world and the prince thereof, when on earth, *John* ix. 39. xii. 31; He is still Judge of the world, the wickedness and prince thereof, by his Light, Spirit, and Gospel in men's hearts and consciences, *John* xvi. 8. 11. *Mat.* xii. 18. 20. *Isa.* xlii. 1. *Rom.* ii. 16. 1 *Pet.* iv. 6; And He will be the judge and final determiner thereof in that great day appointed; God having appointed a day wherein He will Judge the world in righteousness by that Man whom He hath ordained. Christ foretold, it shall be more tolerable for them of the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for that city or people that would not receive his messengers or ministers, &c. *Mat.* x. 15. xi. 24. *Mark* vi. 11. *Luke* x. 12. 14. It is certain that God knows how to deliver the godly out of all their trials and afflictions, and at last to bring them forth and raise them up into glory with Christ; so He knoweth also how to reserve the unjust and finally impenitent unto the day of Judgment, to be punished, 2 *Pet.* ii. 9. He will bring them forth unto the day of destruction, *Job* xxi. 30. The Lord can and will reserve such impenitent, presumptuous, and rebel-

lions criminals, as bound under chains of darkness, as were the fallen angels, unto the judgment of the great day, *Jude* 6. *Mat.* xxv. 30. It is not for us to determine or dispute the manner how they shall be so reserved; but leave it to God; He knows how.

Touching the opinion of the revolution or transmigration of human souls, or their passing out of one body into another, &c. as it is deemed originally to have sprung from the heathen, and was received among Jews and some others by tradition, and said to be the opinion of Empedocles, Pythagoras, and the Egyptians, and partly of Julian the apostate when he dreamed that the soul of Alexander the Great was crept into his carcass, or rather that he was Alexander himself in another body; and thereupon rejecting the suit of the Persians for peace, presumptuously proceeded in the war and to bloodshed against them, until, at unawares, he got his death's wound, according as is more fully related in history; particularly Socrates's Scholasticus, *lib.* 1. *ch.* 17. and *lib.* iii. *ch.* 18. *Eccles. Chron.* fol. 577. See also Dr. Hammond's Annotations on John ix. 1, 2, 3. We are not concerned in any such notion, but, as a people are wholly clear of it.

We deem it neither necessary to faith, nor safe to receive or defend, as either held by those heathen Egyptians, or Jews aforesaid; nor as it is insinuated in a late pamphlet of 200 Queries, concerning the doctrine of the Revolution of Human Souls, supposing twelve revolutions or twelve distinct intervals of life to every man, as being twelve several times born into the world; for each one to live or consummate the space of 1000 years on earth. Though this opinion of such revolution appears not to be a point in present controversy in the book aforesaid, or in Pennsylvania, nor maintained as any Divine opening, revelation, or necessary article of faith, but rather evaded from being publicly controverted; yet inasmuch as there appears some ground of suspicion in the case, and as it seems to be favoured impli-

citly by some ; therefore that we as a people may not be suspected about it, we sincerely declare our clearness from the said opinion, as really esteeming it not safe to propagate or maintain or trouble peoples' heads or minds with it ; but that all should improve their present time and mercies. And we are the less concerned about the aforesaid queries and doctrine, because we find not any known person or persons of credible authority, that will adventure to assert that opinion, either as divinely revealed or opened, or as necessary to be believed or received as an article of faith, or that will undertake to demonstrate how many times or intervals of life they themselves have lived on earth, and what transactions or remarkable passages, or things good and bad, they have done or passed through in those their supposed past intervals of life.

CONCLUSION.

To conclude : As we are persuaded want of walking in the true Light, and want of Christian charity, is the great cause of divisions in professed Christian societies of all sorts, and of this difference among a few persons in America, professing the same Light and Truth with us : we are ashamed of and surprized at the bitter language and severe consequences and treatment, in some of the printed books from one party, and the exposing of the weaknesses and unwarrantable expressions of some of the other, to the open enemies of both, and of religion itself ; all which, as also to make any public rent in a religious society on personal offences or private occasions, are greatly unbecoming our Christian profession, charity, or Society.

And we pray God rebuke and stop this troublesome spirit of enmity and division wherever it is ; for it makes great disturbance and trouble in the creation, and where it enters in church or state ; yet its ill work is no new thing. It was the same spirit that infested and troubled the primitive Christian churches, causing divisions and offences contrary to the Gospel of peace, at first received, and whereby parties and schisms were made ; and one said I am of Paul, another of Apollos, another of Cephas ; which carnality the apostle reprov'd, as knowing and testifying that Christ, whom they all professed, is not divided. And if Christian tenderness and charity might influence all parties, we see no real cause for these few persons aforesaid to divide or separate outwardly, especially about doctrine, seeing both profess one Light, one Spirit, one God, and

one Lord Jesus Christ, and faith in Him, and sincerely to believe the Holy Scriptures. And even the person charging the other in print, professes to "own the body of the people called Quakers, and seems to approve of our ancient, faithful, and generally approved Friends, writers or publishers of our doctrines and principles, and preachers among us generally owned and approved by us, as men of sound judgment and understanding, and as owning the fundamental articles of the Christian and Protestant faith." Thus far the person charging, in his "Serious Appeal," page 6. As also the same person further openly signified at the other Friends' meeting, that "he and his Friends had unity with the most there as to the main. As also with all faithful Friends every where, excepting only some in their meeting that were unsound," &c.—"Reason and Causes," page 26. And therefore, if most on both sides have unity as to the main, we may charitably suppose they do not differ in the main or substance of Christian faith or doctrine before cited, and sincerely owned and confessed by us; if tenderly and duly considered by both sides, as men seeking peace, love, and concord. Wherefore the difference was very indiscreetly managed, aggravated, and exposed to separation, printing, and reproach, seeing it was not in the main.

We wholly dislike such rending and tearing, such dividing and aggravating proceedings, and bitter treatment, and have no unity therewith; but desire the Lord in mercy to repair the breaches, and heal the backslidings among them, and amongst all that are esteemed Christian professors and societies, and incline all to the main, to the True Light, to the substance and life of Christianity, to true love, fervent charity, and tender-heartedness, and forgiveness towards one another, and to follow peace with all men, and holiness; without which no man shall see the Lord.

A POSTSCRIPT,

RELATING TO THE DOCTRINE OF THE RESURRECTION
AND ETERNAL JUDGMENT.

AT the last trump of God, and voice of the archangel, the dead shall be raised incorruptible; the dead in Christ shall rise first, 1 *Cor.* xv. 52. 1 *Thes.* iv. 16, compared with *Mat.* xxiv. 31.

Many are often alarmed in conscience here by the Word and Voice of God, who stop their ears and slight those warnings; but the great and final alarm of the last trumpet, they cannot stop their ears against nor escape: it will unavoidably seize upon, and further awaken them finally to judgment. They that will not be alarmed in their consciences unto repentance, nor out of their sins here, must certainly be alarmed to judgment hereafter.

Whosoever do now wilfully shut their eyes, hate, condemn or shun the Light of Christ, or his appearance within, shall at last be made to see, and not be able to shun or hide themselves from his glorious and dreadful appearance from Heaven with his mighty angels, as with lightning and in flaming fire, to render vengeance on all them that know not God, and obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, 2 *Thes.* i. 8. *Mat.* xxiv. 27. *Luke* xvii. 24. *Dan.* vii. 9, 10. *Job* xxxvii. 3.

And though many now evade and reject the inward convictions and judgment of the Light, and shut up the records or books thereof in their own consciences, they shall all be at last opened, and every one judged of

these things recorded therein, according to their work,
Rev. xx. 12, 13, 14, 15.

Signed in behalf of our Christian Profession and
People aforesaid ;

GEORGE WHITEHEAD,
AMBROSE RIGG,
WILLIAM FALLOWFIELD,
JAMES PARKE,
CHARLES MARSHALL,
JOHN BOWATER,
JOHN VAUGHTON,
WILLIAM BINGLEY.

FINIS.

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
CONVINCEMENT, EXERCISES, SERVICES,
AND TRAVELS,
OF THAT
ANCIENT SERVANT OF THE LORD,
RICHARD DAVIES:
COMPRISING
SOME INFORMATION RELATIVE TO
THE SPREADING OF THE
TRUTH IN NORTH WALES.

FROM THE SIXTH LONDON EDITION.

Philadelphia :
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1852.

CONTENTS.

	Page
Testimonies concerning the Author	5
His Birth and Early life	17
The first time he heard of or saw any of the people called Quakers	20
He is conscientiously concerned to use, in speaking to an individual, the singular number, according to the language of Scripture, and suffers much in consequence	28
His parents concern on first hearing of his becoming a Quaker	33
He goes with his father to his usual place of worship, and calls upon the preacher to make good the false doctrine he had preached, &c. for which he is sent to prison, but soon released	34
Hears of some professing with friends at Shrewsbury, goes to see them : gives a very remarkable account of the two first meetings of friends he ever was at	35
Warns a company of dancers to remember their latter end	37
Some young men join him, when four in number they met together to wait upon the Lord	39
He goes to London and resides there for a while, and marries, but finds it his place to return to his native country, where he soon meets with many trials	41
Goes to a meeting near Wem, and is sent to Shrewsbury Prison with many more, various remarkable circumstances occur	49
He appoints a meeting at Dolobran, many were convinced and soon after sent to prison	53
He and T. Lloyd visit the magistrates in general, who had had any hand in committing friends to prison	60
James Parker's epistle to those he had formerly been in fellowship with	63
Great conviction, many attend friends' meetings. He agrees to go to the public worship by desire of the magistrates, and proposes pertinent Queries	73
He is called upon for Easter-reckonings, goes to the claimant and instructively examines into his ground of claim	75
His great concern on J. Perrot's imaginations being spread amongst friends; his care and concern for their restoration	84
He and John ap John travel together	93
Some extraordinary proceedings of an informer	96
And of others	98
He is a means of G. Fox's release from prison, and of an end being put to all the <i>premunires</i> in the nation	104

The intention of a Judge to proceed against friends, so as to take away their lives, frustrated	107
Remarkable circumstances attended J. Burnyeat and T. Ellis being sent to prison	108
A mischievous suit of one Hughes of Montgomeryshire, frustrated	109
The first yearly meeting in Wales concluded on	112
Some friends engaged in a conference by desire of Bishop Lloyd with him and others, in which an account was given of the principles of the Society, and which terminated in an amicable manner	113
An interview of Richard Davies with Bishop Lloyd at the close of which the Bishop released him and other friends from being prisoners	116
Several remarkable circumstances	119
He obtains the release of many friends from grievous persecutions	124
Farther interesting observations relative to Bishop Lloyd	124
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Supplement—containing some particulars of R. Davies's travels during the latter years of his life, and closing with an account of the time, &c. of his decease	135

THE
TESTIMONY AND ACCOUNT
OF
GEORGE WHITEHEAD,
CONCERNING
RICHARD DAVIES, AND HIS MINISTRY.

In a true and living remembrance of this our dear brother, ancient and faithful servant and minister of Jesus Christ, Richard Davies, and of that dear and brotherly love which remained between us, and which he had to all faithful friends and brethren in Christ; I am concerned to give this brief testimony in commemoration of him, his life, and faithful gospel ministry.

He was not only a professor of the name, power, and spirit, of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, but also made a partaker of Christ, in spirit, life, and conversation: a plain, meek, and humble man of integrity; a man fearing God, and hating iniquity; a man sanctified by the Holy Spirit, unto unfeigned and constant love of his brethren in Christ; a man sound in faith, in patience, and charity; of a sound mind and judgment, being endued with the spirit of love. He was a preacher of Christ and his righteousness, in his conversation as well as in doctrine and ministry, wherein he was exemplary to the believers, &c. He was given up to serve the truth and friends; and being of a tender spirit, did truly sympathize with the sufferers for the same, and used his industrious endeavours for their relief, where he could have an interest or place with such as had power.

His testimony and ministry was evangelical, plain, and sound ; not in words of man's wisdom, but in the demonstration and plain evidence of the holy spirit and power of Christ, being a minister of the spirit, and of the New Testament ; the new covenant dispensation, which stands not in legal shadows, types, outward signs or figures, but in the gospel life and substance, even in Christ Jesus ; in whom all the shadows, and dispensations thereof, are ended.

And this our dear brother having travelled through and beyond those outward dispensations, shadows, and veils ; and understanding their cessation, removal, and end, in and by Christ Jesus, his sufferings and death ; and more especially by his inward and spiritual appearance, dispensation, and work in his heart and soul ; whereby he was made sensible of the power of Christ's resurrection, as being one risen with him ; by the brightness and glory of whose day, the shadows naturally vanish and flee away ; as this faithful minister of Christ was witness, with many more of his brethren, who were and are partakers of the inward and spiritual revelation of the mystery of Christ, and of the glory of his day.

And as this gospel minister did see and partake of the enduring substance, and end of all vanishing shadows and carnal ordinances, he well knew, that neither John's baptism with water, nor any outward washings therewith, though once commanded, could ever sanctify, or wash the inside from sin and pollution, or sprinkle and purify the conscience, or make a true Christian ; much less can sprinkling infants, which God never commanded ; but Christ's spiritual baptism, and washing of regeneration by the water of life, which is the one baptism, *i. e.* the baptism of the spirit ; this is the only saving baptism, as our said deceased friend hath testified, according to holy scripture.

He also likewise testified, that outward bread and wine cannot feed nor nourish the immortal soul, or inward man, any more than the legal passover ; but only

the body or outward man : but Christ, the living bread, the bread of life, which comes down from heaven ; and the cup of blessing, which he gives to his spiritual communicants : he being that spiritual meat and drink, which all his spiritual Israel partake of, in this his gospel day, to their great refreshment and comfort, in the spiritual communion, and comfortable fellowship of his Holy Spirit. And to this our dear friend's ministry tended to bring people ; that they might not rest in lifeless shadows, but come to know and inherit eternal life and substance, in Christ Jesus, which all that truly love him shall partake of and possess.

And I am fully persuaded, that as this our dear and well beloved friend and brother lived and died in the faith, in our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and in true union and communion with his church and people here on earth ; so I believe he is eternally blessed, and at rest in his heavenly kingdom ; where all the faithful in Christ shall meet in the great and general assembly of Christ's triumphant church, and enjoy glorious and everlasting communion in the heavenly kingdom of glory and peace ; which shall be the blessed estate and inheritance of all, who continue faithful in true love and unity, in the grace of God, while here on earth, unto the end of their days.

G. W.

London, the 10th of the Twelfth Month, 1709.

A SHORT TESTIMONY

CONCERNING

My dear and loving father, RICHARD DAVIES, whom God in his mercy took to himself, the 22d of the First Month, 1707-8. He being about Seventy-two years and Eleven months old.

I CAN truly say, he was a dear and tender father to me in my young years ; and as I grew up, I had a

sense of his great love and care over me; and it seized my heart so that I often prayed to God, that he would keep me from offending so good a father. And when I was capable of travelling with him, he usually took me along with him, in his journies to London and elsewhere; many where the good opportunities that we had in travelling together, and visiting friends at their meetings.

And as his care was to me, so was it over mine also, which makes our loss the greater; but I am satisfied it is his great gain. Oh! how often and fervently would he pray to the Almighty, that his children might become the children of the Lord, and that he might keep us from the allurements and defilements of this wicked world; and we hope the Lord will answer his petitions on our behalf.

My dear father was serviceable to most sorts of people, rich and poor, in the country where he lived, and in other places. He was ready to give his advice and counsel freely, both in things relating to the law and the gospel; and he had much place and interest with several great persons, and what he requested of them was generally granted him. And I may say it to the praise of the Lord, he was well respected by most sorts of people, and a loss of him is known amongst them.

He was very ready to serve the widow and fatherless, in what lay in his power; and many were his labours and travels of love: but now he is ceased from them all, and I question not but he has gone to his eternal rest with God for ever. It is my desire, that we may prize the great goodness and loving kindness of the Lord, in sparing of him so long unto us, for he had been but a weakly man in body these late years.

About the tenth month, 1688, my dear father was very sick and weak, so that most that saw him thought he would not recover; but the Lord, in his tender mercy, so ordered that our dear friends Robert Barrow and Robert Haydock, came into these parts to visit friends; and they came to our house at Welch Pool,

and had a meeting there ; and as they were parting with my father, they had it in their hearts to pray, and they earnestly interceded with the Lord, That it might stand good with his will, to spare him again unto us ; for we were then a sorrowful family. Afterwards, I remember very well, Robert Barrow spoke, and said to my father, " Dear Richard, thou art a very weakly man in the sight of those that see thee, and not likely to live many hours, as to the natural man's thinking ; but the Lord has given it me at this time to believe, I shall see thee at our next yearly meeting at London." When I heard these words it was joyful news to me, and it proved very true ; the Lord in his wonderful mercy and loving kindness, restored him to his health, and next spring he went to the yearly meeting at London, where also Robert Barrow was, and glad to see my father there. This was all the Lord's doings, and his works they are marvellous in our eyes.

Much might be said ; but my desire is, that as our ancient friends, fathers and mothers in Israel, have borne the burthen in the heat of the day, through many tribulations and afflictions, and now have rested from their labours, and their works follow them, and their memorial is blessed for evermore ; so we also who are left, may walk in the footsteps of the flock, and tread in the path they have trod in. It is, as to the outward, an easy way now, to what our ancients had, but the adversary of our immortal souls is the same, he is unwearied ; therefore we ought to be very careful, and double our diligence, to be sober and watchful, and cry incessantly to the Lord God of our fathers, that he may be our God, and enable us to walk worthy of all his mercies and blessings every way, for they are many.

Now I shall give some account of my dear father's departure. He was taken ill on the sixth day of the week, being the 19th of the first month, 1707-8. On first day following, he sent for some friends of Dolobran meeting, and several of them came to him, and had a meeting with him in his bed-chamber ; he desired

friends to pray to the Lord, That he might have an easy passage ; adding, " That the fervent prayers of the righteous, the Lord would have a regard unto." And his time being come, he departed this life, as it were in a sleep, it being about the ninth hour in the forenoon, the 22d of the first month, 1707-8. On the 25th following, his body was accompanied with a considerable number of friends and people, to the burying place, near his own house at Cloddiecochion, and there decently interred.

And now it is my desire, that all of us who have had such good examples by our parents, may follow them in purity and holiness ; so that we may be such good patterns to our offspring, that when we lay down our heads, and leave this natural life, they may have cause to praise and glorify the Lord on our account, as many of us can say, we have had for our worthy parents that are gone. And if we continue in well-doing, and in the fear of the Lord, there is no question but we shall die in his favour, which I desire may be the lot of the whole heritage of God.

TACE ENDON.

Cloddiecochion, the 27th of the First month, 1708.

A TESTIMONY

FROM

Friends and Brethren of the Quarterly Meeting for Montgomeryshire, Shropshire, and Merionethshire, held at Dolobran in Montgomeryshire, the 25th of the Eleventh month, 1708, concerning our ancient, honourable Friend and Elder, RICHARD DAVIES.

HE was one of the first of friends in these parts, who received the blessed truth in the love of it ; and he laboured much in the morning and heat of the day.

He and his wife were very hearty, loving, and ready

to entertain friends, their hearts and house being very open in that respect ; and they were very helpful and serviceable to friends in this country, who were prisoners on truth's account in Welch Pool, the place where they then lived; when there were but few other friends of ability to assist them ; until the Lord raised up several eminent instruments in these parts, who were very serviceable with them.

Our said friend was wise and prudent. He had a good understanding and capacity ; a man of great experience ; and was very willing to advise and counsel any in things relating to the gospel, and also to outward affairs.

And as he was discreet in his conduct among men, the Lord gave him great place and favour with several persons of note, with whom he had often good service for truth and friends.

The Lord blessed him with a good gift in the ministry, and he was made an able minister of the gospel ; sound in judgment, and well received by most people who heard him.

He travelled pretty much in divers parts on truth's service, especially in his younger years ; and had good service in many places where his lot was cast, both at home and abroad. He was often at London, where he was well esteemed by many of our elders and brethren.

He lived to a good old age, and was favoured with a short sickness at last. Some of us were with him the day before his departure ; he seemed sensible that his end was near approaching, and appeared as one that was waiting for the same. He departed this life the 22d of the first month, 1707-8, in the 73d year of his age ; and we believe he is at rest with the Lord, together with many more of the faithful followers of the Lamb.

We shall not enlarge much farther, but refer to the ensuing account of his labours, travels and services for truth and friends on several occasions, which contains

a general relation of the most remarkable occurrences and passages of his life, which was written by himself not long before his disease.

And we earnestly desire that all, who make profession of the glorious truth with us, may really know a "working out of their salvation with fear and trembling;" and that they may faithfully improve their talents in their age and time, and truly follow the examples of the faithful elders and servants of the Lord in all things wherein they followed Christ, that we may give our account at last with joy, and receive an eternal reward with the faithful children of the Lord, when time in this world to us will be no more.

So, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth; yea, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them." Rev. xiv. 13.

Signed on behalf of the said meeting, by us,

Charles Lloyd,
Owen Roberts,
Rowland Owen,
William Reynolds,
Robert Vaughan,
Humphry Owen,
Robert Griffithes,
Jacob Endon,
John Simpson,
Owen Lewis,
'Tho. Cadwalader
Richard Lewis,
John Richards,
Ellis Lewis,

William Osborn,
Thomas Oliver,
Joseph Davies,
Richard Evans,
Edward Ellis,
William Soley,
Richard Bembow,
Griffith Owen,
Richard Ruff,
John Roberts,
Julius Palmer,
John Kelsall,
Amos Davies.

THE TESTIMONY

OF

ROWLAND OWEN,

*Concerning his dear Friend RICHARD DAVIES, of Clod-
diecochion, lately deceased.*

A **WEIGHTY** consideration came upon my mind, in a sense how the Almighty God, in his unspeakable and unsearchable wisdom, who discerneth the states and conditions of the sons and daughters of men, maketh choice of some, and calleth them from among their neighbours and relations, to be serviceable unto him : amongst whom our dear friend Richard Davies was called early, in the day of God's visitation, to serve him, and he gave up in obedience to the Lord, and took up the cross in a time of great persecution, &c.

The Lord made him willing and obedient, in those days, to go a broad with a public testimony for the truth, and moved him to come to our country of Merionethshire, when some of us were very young in years ; and it pleased the Lord to make him instrumental in his hand to bring glad tidings to our ears, and his testimony was sweet and comfortable, to the edifying and tendering of our hearts and souls ; many of us loved him exceedingly, and that love remained between him and us till the end of his days. He was tender and careful of us, and a nourisher and strengthener of some of us in our spiritual exercises, and was ready to assist the weak and feeble, and willing to give a helping hand, counsel and admonition to friends, and others, that had any desires to serve the Lord.

O the wonderful wisdom and love of God ! who called him, and many others in those days, and prepared and qualified them for the great work he had to do, and strengthened them to tread the way before us, that were weak and feeble. O how strong, bold and val-

iant instruments did the Lord God prepare to begin to strike at the great image of pride, haughtiness, &c. that was then, and yet is in the world ! Indeed their memorial is worthy to be recorded, that ages yet to come might see what the Lord hath done for his faithful ones, who gave up their lives, and all they had, on truth's account.

I was acquainted with our said friend for about forty years, and I can say of a truth, that his service was great in the church of Christ, especially in times of persecution ; he having much interest with the magistrates, and them in authority in those days. And his house was very open to entertain friends, to the utmost of his ability ; and the Lord blessed him.

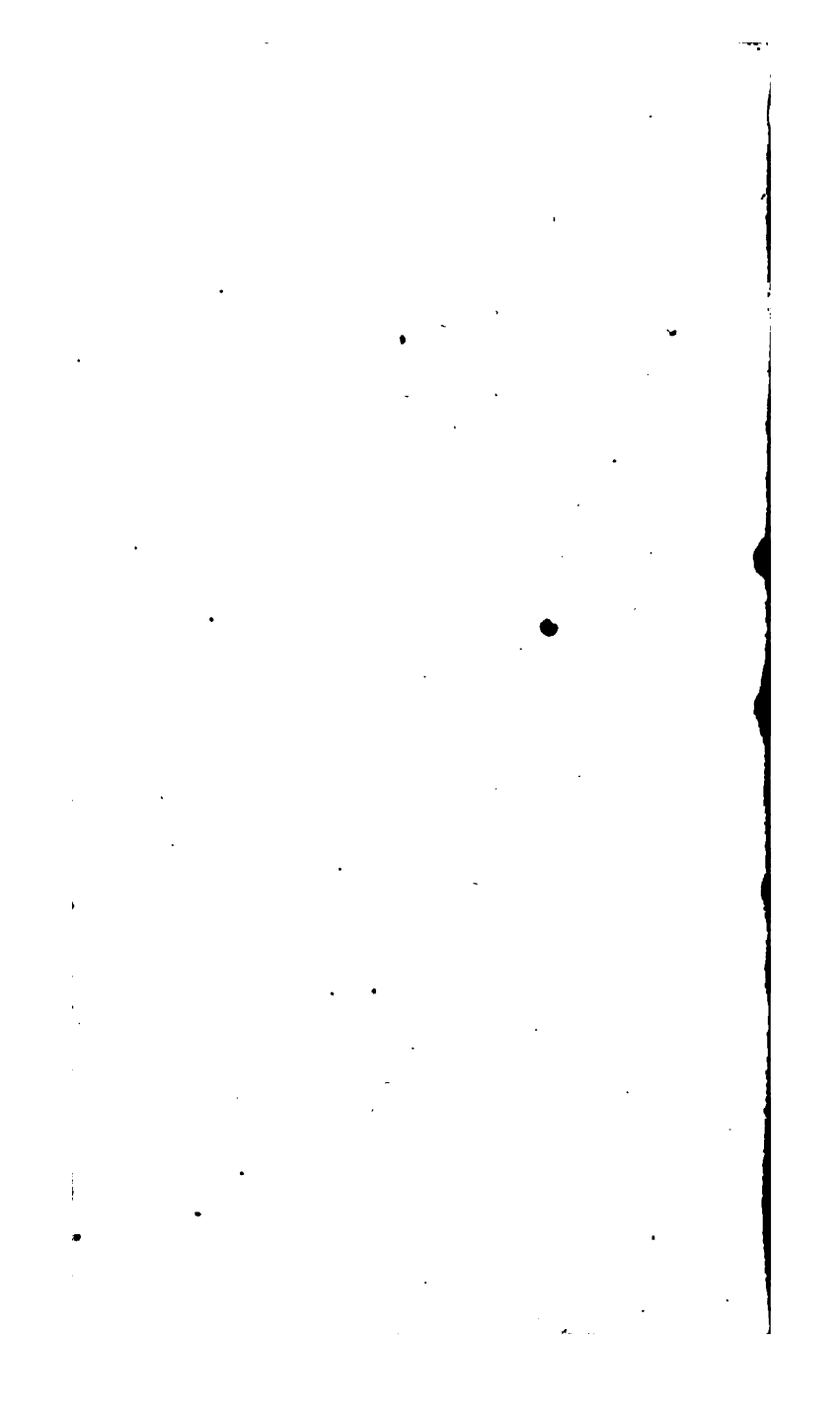
The Lord, out of his treasure of grace, eminently endued him to bear a sound and seasonable testimony, when great assemblies and multitudes of people were gathered together ; and he had a skilful hand to administer unto them the way of truth, and to open it to their understandings ; which many times gave them great satisfaction, and they were made to speak well of truth and its followers. O the deep sense that remains upon me, of the great want we have of the service of such as he was ! The Lord, who in his mercy qualified and fitted him, is able to prepare and raise up other faithful labourers.

It affects me, when I remember his gravity and grey hairs, his manly presence, and lovely countenance, especially when he stood up in a meeting. Now he hath finished his course, and, I believe, hath done his day's work, and is gone to his eternal rest.

Much more might be said on his behalf, but I desire that none may mistake me, I am not giving honour to man, that is but dust and ashes ; but that all might see how Almighty God doth bestow his spiritual gifts upon those that he requireth service at their hands. And it is our duty, as our Saviour Jesus Christ advised his beloved disciples, to pray to the Lord of the harvest (which harvest is great) that he would send forth more

faithful labourers into his harvest, that mankind might be gathered into the inward possession and substance of Christianity, which many outwardly profess; that the God of all our mercies, and his beloved Son Jesus Christ, may have all the glory and thanksgiving, to whom it belongs, not only now, but henceforth for ever and for ever more. Amen.

ROWLAND OWEN.



AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
CONVINCEMENT, EXERCISES, SERVICES,
AND TRAVELS,
OF THAT ANCIENT SERVANT OF THE LORD,
RICHARD DAVIES.

I WAS born in the year 1635, in the town of Welchpool, in Montgomeryshire, in North Wales, of honest parents, that had a small estate there: I was brought up in a little learning, and in the religion and discipline of the church of England. When I came to be about twelve or thirteen years of age, the Lord put his fear in my heart, that I came to a consideration, if I should die what would become of my soul, if I lived after the way that some of my companions did: and it came into my heart to leave them; and I was inclined to go and hear sermons, and followed the best of those sort of people, that I did believe feared the Lord, which I then thought were the Independent people; especially one Vavasor Powell, who was a very zealous man in his day and time; he took much pains and labour to gather a people into that persuasion, and many were gathered in these parts to that way; and I followed them from one parish to another, and from one meeting to another, writing their sermons, and in time I came to repeat them to the people; and there, being exercised in the historical part of the scriptures, I could speak and talk of them; so that those people came to speak well of me, and this did not a little puff me up; so that I was not so serious, as I should have been, to get eternal life by Christ Jesus, who is the life

himself, who said to the Jews, John v. 39, 40, "Search, or ye search the Scriptures, for in them ye think to have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me: and ye will not come to me, that ye might have life."

We were diligent in searching the scriptures, which was good in its place; but the main matter and substance of pure religion, is the enjoyment of eternal life to the soul from Christ.

About the fourteenth year of my age, my father intended to put me apprentice to a shop-keeper, where I was for a trial: but I saw that the conversation of my intended master was not right, and that the fear of the Lord was not there. I was afraid, if I should continue there, that the little love and zeal I had to God and goodness, would be choaked and quenched in me, and the love and pleasure of the world would get up again, so I should be in danger of growing worse than ever; and being under these serious considerations, I heartily prayed to God with tenderness and tears, what he put in my heart to pray for, viz. That I might be delivered from that place where I was intended to be bound an apprentice, and that I might spend my time with and amongst them that feared the Lord, and thought upon his name; and the Lord heard my prayers, and in a little time I was sent for away from that place.

After this I staid at home sometime, and continued in that little well-doing I had known, keeping company with sober and honest people; I delighted to read the scriptures, and to go to the Independent meetings. And after some time, I heard of a man that professed the same religion, who was very zealous for a time in going to meeting, and performing that which we call family duties, and there, with the consent of my parents, I bound myself an apprentice to him; whose name was Evan Jones, a felt-maker, in the parish of Llanfair, in Montgomeryshire; and we went together to meetings, I writing and repeating sermons, and performing that custom that was among us, in praying in our own will

and time, till we were become so dead and formal, carnal and airy, many loose words and actions growing up amongst us, that I was gone out of conceit with myself, and our formal religion; there being something in me that reproved me for my vanity; and when I arose from my prayers, being sometime in a weighty ponderous condition, I saw that there was something that gave me no true peace nor comfort inwardly to my soul, because there remained a secret pride and self-exaltation in most, if not all, our formal performances.

In this state and condition I knew not what to do; when neither writing, repeating sermons, reading of the scriptures, and other good books, and sometimes expounding of them to the best of my understanding, afforded me any comfort, I was at a loss, and knew not what way to take, that I might have peace and comfort in my performances. Hitherto I knew not the Holy Spirit of the Lord, as I ought to have done, to be my leader and guide into all things that were necessary to my eternal salvation.

Upon a certain time we had a meeting at Hugh David's, a tenant of Charles Lloyd's, of Dolobran, where one of our Independent teachers, who was a great scripturian, was preaching, and I writ after him; and in his sermon he said, "The time would come that there would be no need of the scriptures, any more than another book;" at which I very much stumbled; and after the meeting I asked him, when would that time be? He said, when the Lord would make a new covenant with his people, as it is said in Jeremiah, **xxxi. 33, 34.** "I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel; after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest of them, saith the Lord; for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their

sin no more." It seems that he knew not that day come then, though he was a great preacher. I thought it would then be a happy day, when God would be the teacher of his people, himself; that we need not teach every man his neighbour, or his brother, saying, "Know the Lord;" but that we should all know him, from the least to the greatest. This day we knew not then, for all our preaching and long prayers; though the Lord did then beget true hungerings and thirstings in our souls after him. We had great love and zeal, and desired the knowledge of the truth, as it was in Jesus. Sometimes I have said, this was but like Jacob's dream, when he awoke and said, "Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not." And indeed we knew not the Lord, as we ought to have done; namely, by his light, grace, and spirit shining in our hearts, to give us the light of the knowledge of the Son of God, which knowledge keeps a man meek and humble; and such are not puffed up in a vain mind, to seek after those things that are too high for them, as too many are climbing up that way, which is not the way to God the Father; the way to the Father is the way of holiness and purity, and humility, without which no man shall see the Lord nor enjoy his presence to their comfort.

About this time, being in the year 1656, our ministers told us, that there was a sort of people come up in the north, called Quakers, that were a people of a strange posture and principles: saying, that it was the last days and times that Christ spoke of in the xxivth of Matthew, "Many shall come in my name, and deceive many, *ver.* 5. for there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders, in-somuch that if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect." This sort of people called Quakers, were much preached against; they told us they were the false prophets, &c. that they denied the scriptures, and all ordinances, and also denied the very Christ that bought them. They were represented to us to be such

a dangerous sort of people, that we were afraid of any who had the name of a Quaker, lest we should be deceived by them. Hitherto they had not been in these parts of the country, neither did we know what were the principles held out by themselves; but only such as were reported, though falsely, unto us by our preachers and others; which kept us in blindness, and from making further inquiry, and "trying all things, and holding fast that which is good," according to the apostle's advice, 1 Thes. v. 21.

Now about the year 1657, there came a poor man in a mean habit to my master's house, named Morgan Evan, of South-Wales: he had met with the people called Quakers in his travels, and was convinced of the truth. This poor man discoursed with my master about the principles of truth, and I being in the shop about my calling, my mistress came and said, Why do you not go out to help your master? for there is a Quaker at the door that hath put him to silence. I hearing this, made haste, and took my bible under my arm, and put on what courage I could to dispute with that poor man, but he proved too hard for us all; when I went to them, they were upon the words *Thee* and *Thou*; but I very peremptorily asked him, what command he had to speak *Thee* and *Thou*; for I did acknowledge to him, that it was the language of God to Adam, and the language of the scripture; but, said I, that is not enough for us now in this day, we must have a command for it. To which he answered, "Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me." I asked him, Whether that was scripture; he asked me, Whether I would deny it; I told him, he was to prove it. Then he took the bible out of my hand, and he turned to 2 Tim. i. 13, which he read, and told me, that *Hold fast* there, was a command; which I knew very well, both the scripture and the command: but to prove him further, I desired him to read a little more of that chapter, both backward and forward, which he freely did, and asked me, Why I did require that of him? I told him,

that we heard the Quakers denied the scripture, and that they would not read them. He said there was many false reports of them. And truly when he read the scripture so readily, I concluded in myself, that what was reported of them was not true; and he saw that he had reached to the witness of God in me. Then he exhorted me to take heed to that light that shined in my heart, and did shew me my vain thoughts, and reprove me in secret for every idle word and action; saying, That "that was the true light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world;" and in that light, I should see more light, and that would open the scriptures to me, and that I should receive a measure of the same spirit that gave them forth; and further he told me, It was "the more sure word of prophecy, unto which I did well, if I took heed as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts," 2 Peter i. 19. And he spoke much of the inward work, and the operation of God's Holy Spirit upon the soul; recommending me to the "Grace of God, that bringeth salvation, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world," Tit. ii. 11, 12. And so he departed from our house, and I set him a little along on his way.

Now when I came back from him, the consideration of his words took fast hold on me, that I could not go from under them; and the more I waited in that light that he recommended me to, the more my former peace, and that in which I formerly took comfort in, was broken; and herein I came to see, that our former building could not stand, for we built upon that which the apostle called "wood, hay, and stubble." Here I came to a loss of all my former knowledge; and my former performances proved but a sandy foundation. Then I did, with much humility and poverty of spirit, beg of Almighty God, that I might build upon that rock, that the true church of Christ was built upon, that the gates of hell might not prevail against me.

But for all this, I was yet afraid of being deceived by the Quakers; yet where to go outwardly for advice and counsel I knew not. For I saw that my former teachers were upon a sandy foundation. So I desired that the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, would be my Teacher and Instructor; for I believed that the prophecy of the prophets would be fulfilled, and that the Lord would make a new covenant with his people now, as he did promise by the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah, *xxxi. 31—34*. "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, which my covenant they brake, although I was an husband unto them, saith the Lord: but this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel; after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know me, from the least of them, unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord; for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more."

These and the like precious promises I was made willing to take hold on, and waited for the fulfilling of them in myself, and of that which Christ said to the Jews, *John vi. 45*. "It is written in the prophets, and they shall be all taught of God. Every man therefore that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me." He that cometh unto Christ Jesus the Light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, though their sins and their iniquities be great, they shall in no wise be cast out. And it is said, "and all thy children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of thy children," *Isaiah liv. 13*.

When I came to know a little of the teachings of the

Lord, I took my leave of all my former formal teachers, and many times went to the woods and other by-places, where none might see me, to wait upon the Lord, where I was much broken, and tendered by the power of God. And though I did begin to see a little of myself, and something of the goodness of God, yet still I was afraid of being deceived, for I had read and heard that Satan himself is "transformed into an angel of light," 2 Cor. xi. 14. And lest this man should be as the same apostle said, in ver. 13, "For such are false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ," I desired of the Lord that I might see this poor man once again, for I knew not where to see the face of any called a Friend; and it pleased God that he came again that way, and I desired of my master and mistress to give him lodging, and that he might be with me, to which they consented. Then I queried of him their way of worship, and concerning those two great ordinances, so called, that we so much relied upon, viz. the *Bread*, and *Wine*, and *Baptism*, and the *Scripture*, to know what was their judgment of them; to which he gave me some satisfaction. In the morning I parted with him, and to the best of my knowledge, I saw him no more for several years after.

In all this time I still kept my retirement in the wood, or some other private place; and there in my waiting, I desired of the Lord, that I might be farther satisfied by himself, as to those things; first, Whether the scriptures were the word of God, as was said and preached unto us they were, and the way to life and salvation? Then the first chapter of John came under my serious consideration in my meditation, which said, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God, the same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men; and the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehend-

ed it not." I considered that the Word was in the beginning with God the Father, and that no part of the scriptures were written until Moses, who we understand was the first writer of those scriptures we have; the apostle tells us here, that "the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ:" in this Word there was life; Paul tells us, that "the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life;" now this life is the light of men, and the Word was before the scriptures were written. By this we may see the Word of God is Christ Jesus, that was with the Father before the world began, "without him there was not any thing made that was made." The history that Moses gives us, is said to be written about 8000 years after the creation of the world, therefore the scriptures cannot properly be the Word of God.

I, with many more, was under that mistake that the Jews were in, who thought they might have eternal life in the scriptures; Christ saith, John v. 39, "Search (or ye search) the scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me; and ye will not come to me that ye might have life." As he is the life, so he is the way to the Father; "I am the way, and the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father but by me," John xiv. 6. As for the scriptures, I was a great lover, and a great reader of them, and took great pleasure in searching of them, thinking that would make me wise unto salvation, as Paul said to Timothy, "And that from a child thou hast known the scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith, which is in Christ Jesus," 2 Tim. iii. 15. This main thing was wanting, the true and saving faith which is the gift of God: "It is by grace we are saved through faith, not of ourselves, it is the gift of God," Eph. ii. 8. So it is the grace of God that brings salvation, and not the bare historical knowledge of the scriptures. Too many take a great deal of pride in a literal knowledge of them; some for their gain and profit; others take plea-

sure in them, by wresting them to vindicate their false and erroneous opinions, that gender to strife and contention, and take little or no notice of that meek, holy, and lovely spirit of life that gave them forth, for they are of no private interpretation; "but holy men of God spake them as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, 2 Pet. i. 20, 21.

Men may have a great literal knowledge of the scriptures, and yet remain in error, because they know them not, as they ought to do, nor the power that was in the holy men that gave them forth; so I may say, as Christ said to the Jews, "You err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God," Mat. xxii. 29. So that which gives the true knowledge of God, and a right understanding of the scriptures, is the power of God; and I may say with the apostle, "For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ," 2 Cor. iv. 6. And as men and women come to mind this light, that is, the Spirit of God, and to obey it, they shall come to the comfort of the scriptures, as the same apostle says, "For whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning; that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures, might have hope," Rom xv. 4.

And being under a serious consideration of what I read in the scripture, believing the Spirit of the Lord to be the interpreter thereof; those great mysteries that were hid from ages and generations, and are hid now in this our age from many, are come to be revealed by the Spirit of God, and if they would have comfort in reading the scriptures, they must wait in that measure of the spirit, which God hath given them, which is the only key that opens them to the understanding of those that are truly conscientious in the reading of them; and though I read them formerly, as many do now, without a true sense and a due consideration yet now I can bless God for them, and have a great

comfort in the reading of them ; they being no more as a sealed book unto me, and many more, who wait for the assistance of God's holy Spirit, in all their duties and performances that the Lord requires of them, for without him we know that we can do nothing that is pleasing unto him : though formerly we ran, in our own time and wills, to preach and pray, not having such a due regard to the leading and moving of the Spirit of the Lord ; yet, I bless God, it is not so now. Many times, when I did arise from my knees in a formal way of prayer, a reproof was very near me, "Who required this at thy hands ? It is sparks of thy own kindling." I was afraid that I should "lie down in sorrow," as was said to some by the Lord, in Isaiah l. 11.

But as to this head, I shall briefly conclude, though much more might be said to the honour of the holy scriptures ; but this is my desire, that they that read them, may come to that which will give them a right understanding thereof : "For there is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding," Job xxxii. 8.

Then, as concerning water baptism, which I had under consideration, though I was no admirer of it, being not of the persuasion of re-baptizing. Those that were Independents, were not so much at first for re-baptizing ; but afterward it prevailed more among them in these parts, when one Henry Jessy came here-aways. And about that time it was, that I came from among them.

I had much reasoning, and various consultations in my mind concerning this, and the bread and wine. And when I was satisfied as to those weighty concerns, I thought I might rest there, and keep my old customs and fashions, and language ; but that would not do, I had no peace therein ; God shewed me the customs of the nation were vain, and our language not according to the language of God's people, recorded in the scriptures of truth. So I made a conscientious search into this matter also :—where I found the great Creator of

heaven and earth, who by the word of his power made all things therein, created man in his own image, "In the image of God created he him: male and female created he them. And God blessed them, and gave them dominion over all things that he had created on the earth; and Adam gave names to them. And God took him, and put him in the garden of Eden, to dress it and to keep it. And the Lord commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat," Gen. ii. 15, 16. This is the first *Thou* to man, that I read of in the scripture; and the great Creator said, "Every thing that he had made was very good," Gen. i. 31., and his language to man was very good and pure. Then again, when Adam transgressed the law and commandment of God, "the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou? And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked," Gen. iii. 9, 10. Here was the language of God to man, and the language of man to God. And in the searching of the scriptures, I found that all the holy men of God used that language, and Christ taught his disciples to pray in that language; "Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven," Mat. vi. And withal, I knew a little grammar, and how that it was improper to say *vos* [you] to one single person, instead of *tu* [thou]. And though the learned in our nation spoke it, yet I thought Christians should not use it, but should take the Spirit of God, according to the scripture, to be their rule, and not to follow the confused language of the heathens; for the Lord, by the mouth of his prophet, commanded his people, "Learn not the way of the heathen,—for the customs of the people are vain," Jer. x. 2, 3. I also believed, that the Lord would return to his people a pure language in these days, as was promised in the days of old concerning Israel: then, when they returned to the Lord, he would bring them out of their captivity: "For then, saith the Lord, will I turn to the

people a pure language, that they may all call upon the name of the Lord to serve him with one consent." Zeph. iii. 9.

Thus I was conscientiously concerned to speak the pure language of *Thee* and *Thou* to every one, without respect of persons, which was a great cross to me, though it seems to some but as a weak and foolish thing, yet when the Lord lays the necessity of speaking the truth to all, in that language that God and all his servants used, it comes to be of a greater weight than many light airy people think it is. The sayings of Christ came to my mind, when he said, "Whosoever will be my disciple, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me," Luke ix. 23. He doth not say he *should* do it, but *let him do it*, imperatively; which was a command, viz. "That we should deny ourselves and follow him?" see also Mat. xvi. 24. And moreover it is said, "He that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me," Mat. x. 38.

This necessity being laid upon me, I spoke to my master in that dialect; he was not offended at it, because he was convinced of the truth of it, and that it ought to be spoken to every one; but when I gave it to my mistress, she took a stick and gave me such a blow upon my bare head, that made it swell and sore for a considerable time; she was so disturbed at it, that she swore she would kill me; though she would be hanged for me; the enemy had so possessed her, that she was quite out of order; though beforetime she very seldom, if ever, gave me an angry word. But I considered, that the enmity was between the two seeds, and that "that which was born after the flesh, did persecute him that is born after the spirit." I being well satisfied of the truth in myself, remembered Christ's words, "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that findeth his life, shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it." Mat. x. 37, 39.

The Almighty God put it in my heart to consider the cost, and that through tribulation I was to enter the kingdom of heaven ; and I was faithful in this testimony that I had to bear. I was much encouraged to go on in that strait and narrow way, that God shewed me I was to walk in. I also considered the saying of Christ, " Whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple." Again, " Which of you intending to build a tower, sitteth not down first and counteth the cost, whether he hath sufficient to finish it? Lest haply after he hath laid the foundation, and is not able to finish it, all that behold it begin to mock him, saying, This man began to build, but was not able to finish," Luke xiv. 27—30.

This consideration was weighty with me, lest I should begin to take up the cross, and to walk in this way, and should not be able to hold out to the end; first, because of the temptation of satan, the lust of the flesh, and the sinful customs and fashions of this world, which were very prevalent ; and the weight and burthen that was upon me was great, having none in the country to be an help to me in the time of my exercise, but the Lord alone, that hath promised to be with his people in all their troubles and exercises, and that he would not leave them nor forsake them. I was very ready and willing to take hold of his promises ; and my prayers unto him were, *That he would enable me to go through all things that he required.* I was sensible, that without the assistance of his holy Spirit, I could not perform that service which he required of me.

I was now first called a Quaker, because I said to a single person *Thee* and *Thou*, and kept on my hat, and did not go after the customs and fashions of the world, that other professors lived and walked in. Though some of them would complain of their formalities, and were weary of the fashions of the world ; yet they did not take up their cross, and leave them.

The rage of my mistress was not yet abated, though she had nothing against me, but not conforming to the

corrupt language and vain custom of the world : for I laboured to keep a conscience void of offence, both towards God and men ; I did my work and service honestly and justly, “ not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, as the servant of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart,” Ephes. vi. 5, 6, and ver. 8. “ Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free.”

In thus doing, I had great comfort from the Lord, and did receive from him living satisfaction and encouragement to go on in my way ; remembering that scripture that saith, “ The righteous shall hold on his way, and he that hath clean hands shall be stronger and stronger,” Job xvii. 9. I might also say with Job, “ But he knoweth the way that I take, when he hath tried me, I shall come forth as gold : my foot hath held his steps ; his way have I kept, and not declined ; neither have I gone back from the commandment of his lips : I have esteemed the words of his mouth more than my necessary food,” Job xxiii. 10—12. The Lord kept me, and his people, very meek and low in our minds, in a self-denying spirit ; we waited for the living word, that came with a living voice, from him that speaks from heaven to us by his spirit ; so that he gave us to discern between the voice of wisdom, and the voice of the strange woman, which is the voice of the flesh, and the lust thereof ; and the living voice is the voice of *Christ in us the hope of glory* ; which voice we esteemed more than our necessary food. For obeying this voice, we came to be mocked and derided ; “ and they spoke all manner of evil against us, and hated us for his name’s sake,” Mat. x. 22. I remembered what Christ hath told us in Luke xxi. 12. “ They shall lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name’s sake : and it shall return to you for a testimony. Settle it therefore in your hearts, not to meditate before what ye shall answer ; for I will

give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist," Luke xxi. 13—15.

These and the like afflictions I was to meet with, if I truly and faithfully followed the Lord Jesus Christ; therefore I laboured to put on the whole armour of light, that I might be able to withstand the fiery darts of the wicked one, who sought to weaken my faith, and to persuade me of the hardness, straightness, and narrowness of the way, that I should not be able to hold out to the end, seeing there was not any in this country to help and assist me; but the fiery darts of the enemy that I felt, came more by his servants than otherwise. Very prevalent he was in this poor misled woman, my mistress, who was persuaded by him to kill me, and shed innocent blood; and one time, when she thought it a fit opportunity to execute her will and cruelty, she fell into a great rage, and I was freely given up to die that hour by her; but the Lord was pleased to accept of my free-will offering, and I may say with the apostle, "that I accounted not my life dear to myself, that I might finish my course with joy." And the Lord alone appeared to my deliverance, and made her more moderate the rest of my servitude, it being somewhat less than two years; and after I went away, the Lord visited her with a sharp fit of sickness, in which time she spoke to her husband and them that were with her, that she thought she should not die till she had asked me forgiveness, and desired them to send for me if it were at London; and so they did: I could freely forgive her, for that I had done long since, and I prayed to my heavenly Father, that he might forgive her also. I sent to her, and it pleased God to touch her with a sense of his love, and lengthened her days, she confessing oftentimes the wrong she had done to an honest careful young man, as she said I had been, who minded her husband's inward and outward good, more than they did themselves. It pleased God to order it so, that she had a visit from me, before she went

out of this world, and very comfortable and acceptable it was to her; and in a little time she ended her days in peace, and was buried in Friends' burying-place near Dolgelle in Merionethshire.

About this time, 1657, it was the great talk of the country that I was become a Quaker. My parents were much concerned about me. I was informed that the priest of Welch-pool, W. Longford, went to them and told them, that I was gone distracted, and that they should see for some learned men to come to me and restore me to my senses. I had not been yet with my father nor mother, but waited for freeness and clearness in myself, and then I went to see them, and in my way I visited an old friend of mine, a professor, and had a little opportunity to speak to him of the things of God, and his goodness to me, and a young man, called David Davies, was then convinced of the truth: this was on a seventh-day, in the afternoon: and when I was clear there, I went to Welch-pool to my parents. It was a trouble to them, to see that I did not, as formerly, go down upon my knees to ask their blessing, and bow to them, and take off my hat. My father soon turned his back upon me. I had heard of his displeasure, and that he had said, he would leave me nothing; saying to my relations, that they thought to have had comfort of me, but now they expected none, but that I would go up and down the country, crying Repent! Repent! Now if my father should have cast me off upon such an account, I was well persuaded it was for Christ's and the gospel's sake. I remembered David's condition, when he said, "Hide not thy face far from me, put not thy servant away in anger: thou hast been my help, leave me not, neither forsake me, O God of my salvation; when my father and my mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up: teach me thy way, O Lord, and lead me in a plain path, because of mine enemies," Psalm xxvii. 9—11.

At length my mother came tenderly to me, and took a view of me, looking on my face, and she saw that I

was her child, and that I was not, as they said, bewitched or transformed into some other likeness; which was reported of Quakers then, and that they bewitched people to their religion, &c. Thus they deceived them and many others, with such strange stories, and we were accounted, with the apostles, deceivers, yet true. And when I discoursed with her out of the scriptures, her heart was much tendered and affected with the goodness of God towards me; she went to see for my father, and when she found him, said unto him, Be of good comfort, our son is not as was reported of him, we hope to have comfort of him yet.

But when my father came to his house, he spoke not much to me that night. The next day, being the first day of the week, when I heard the bells ring, it came upon me to go to the steeple-house, to visit that priest that had told my father, I was gone distracted, &c. and when he was at his worship, I went to our own seat to my father; (there was no common-prayer read then to the people, as part of their worship in those days) there I sate still till he had done, and when he had done what he had then to say, I stood up and told him, That he might do well to stay, and make good the false doctrine that he had preached that day, if he could; and if I was distracted, as he reported, that he might labour to restore me to my right senses again. But I spoke but a little while, ere I was taken away to prison, with the young man before mentioned, that came to see for me, and found me in the steeple-house, so both of us were taken; there we were prisoners that night, in which time many far and near came to see us, expecting that we were some deformed creatures. God gave me a seasonable exhortation to them to fear the Lord, and indeed to cry, "Repent, repent, for the kingdom of heaven was at hand;" letting them know, "that we were God's workmanship, created anew in Christ Jesus;" with much more to that effect. I spoke to them from the scripture, which was much to their satisfaction, and we praised God, that kept us in his fear and counsel.

We were committed to prison on that law, made in Oliver's days, that none were to speak to the priest or preachers, neither at their worship, nor coming and going. The next morning we were had before the chief magistrate of the town of Welch-pool, and after some discourse with him, it seemed good to him to discharge us, for he could find nothing justly to accuse us of, except concerning the law of our God.

So we went to our homes, the young man to his father's, and I to my master's; he suffered much violence by his father, in regard that he could not conform himself to that dry, dead, and formal praying that his father used; his father rose from off his knees when he was at prayer, and took a staff, and did violently beat his son, and against natural affection he took a lock and chain, and chained him out of doors in a cold frosty night. Thus our sufferings began to increase, for the testimony of our consciences towards God; but blessed be the name of the Lord, who preserved his people that trusted in him, saith my soul.

A little after this I came to hear that some of the people that were called Quakers, were at Shrewsbury in the county of Salop, being distant from the place of my abode about eighteen miles; I waited for an opportunity to go to see them, and the way of their worship, for as yet I had not seen any of them, but that one poor man before mentioned. When the time called Christmas came, my master's work being somewhat over for a while, I got leave to go so far. I went first to the house of John Millington, where many friends resorted, and they of the town came to see me in great love and tenderness, and much brokenness of heart was among us, though but few words. We waited to feel the Lord among us, in all our comings together. When the first day of the week came, we went to a meeting at W. Pane's, at the Wild Cop, where we had a silent meeting, and though it was silent from words, yet the word of the Lord was among us, it was a hammer and a fire, it was sharper than any two-edged

sword, it pierced through our inward parts, it melted and brought us into tears, that there was scarcely a dry eye among us; the Lord's blessed power overshadowed our meeting, and I could have said, that God alone was master of that assembly. The next day as I was preparing homewards, having had a considerable time with friends there, and being much comforted with the goodness of God, and unfeigned love of the brethren, we heard that John ap John was come to town, and was to have a meeting there; I staid that meeting, where I heard the first friend that was called a Quaker, preach in a meeting, and when I heard him, I thought he spoke as one having authority, and not as the Scribes, his words were so sound and piercing.

After this meeting at Shrewsbury, I came home to my master's house, where I was under many considerations, and especially that of Christ's words, "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick, and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven," Mat. v. 14—16.

I was sensible that God had opened my understanding and lighted my candle, and given me a sense and feeling of my own state and condition, how that I had been in darkness, and under the region and shadow of death; and God having shewed mercy and kindness unto me, in calling of me from this great darkness to the marvellous light of his dear Son Christ Jesus; that is "the light of the world, that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world;" I was made willing not to hide my candle, as it were under a bushel, or to hide my talent in the earth; but in the love of God, I was made willing to let that light, which he pleased by his grace to enlighten me withal, shine before men, that they might come "to glorify their Father, which is in heaven," Mat. v. 16,

The next public service that the Lord required of me, was to go and give my testimony for him, and to warn a company of people to think of their latter end, who were met to dance and to play, at that they called a merry night, not far from my master's house. When I came within the room where they were dancing, the fiddler ceased playing, and they dancing; I declared the word of the Lord among them. That which was chiefly before me was that of Job; "They send forth their little ones like a flock, and their children dance. They take the timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the sound of the organ. They spend their days in mirth, and in a moment go down to the grave," Job xxi. 11—13. When I had discharged myself of what lay upon me, I parted in love and peace from them, and they thanked me for my good exhortation, and some of them came to set me home.

About this time, 1658, I heard of one that was called a Quaker, who was come from Ireland to Llanvillling, a town in the county of Montgomery, and in the love of God I went upon the first day of the week to visit him; where we had a comfortable refreshing meeting together, and the Lord's presence was with us, though we were strangers one to another, as to the outward, yet we had fellowship and unity one with another in the inward life of righteousness; his name was Roger Pritchard. He tarried not long there, but went back again to Ireland; though it was said, he came to these parts with an intention to stay here, and to bear his testimony for God in this dark corner of North Wales; but he not being faithful to God, who sent him here, as he was going back he suffered great losses by sea, and lost his good condition also, and turned back to the vanities of the world, which was a great sorrow and exercise to me: but the Lord visited him again, as may be seen hereafter. Thus I was left alone again.

I continued, as the Lord made way for me, to visit those in whom I found any inclination to the things that were good, and there was one William Davies convinc-

ed of the truth with me. I was also made willing to visit the Independent meeting, and those people that I formerly belonged to, that were a separate people, gathered together chiefly by Vavasor Powell, before mentioned, a zealous man in his day. But when truth broke forth in this country, I being the first that came to receive it in these parts, did separate myself from them, in love to that blessed truth that I received, and it became my true teacher. So Vavasor Powell proved angry, and preached much against the Quakers, their way and principles; I hearing this, came to a place called Cloddieocochon, near Welch-pool, to their meeting, expecting to find him there; but he was not there. John Griffithes, a justice of the peace in those days, was preaching there. When I came in among them, they seemed uneasy; and when I had an opportunity, I bore a testimony for God, and his son Christ Jesus, his way, truth, and people, which they preached against. When I had done what I had to say, he went on again; and when I found something more upon my spirit to declare among them, this John Griffithes commanded to take me away; and a near relation of mine, that owned the house, took me in his arms, and led me out of the house through the fold, and through a gate that opened to the common, and shut the gate after me. There I sate under an ash tree, weeping and mourning to see the blindness, darkness, and hardness of heart, pride, and haughtiness, that were come over a people who once were loving, kind, and humble in spirit. As I sate weightily under a serious consideration, what and when would be the end of these formalities and hardness of heart, I prayed to the Lord for them. And the word of the Lord came to me, That though they put me out of their house, yet in time they would come to own truth, and that house should be a meeting-place for friends. Of this a farther account may be seen hereafter. So I went away, well satisfied of the love and goodness of God to me that day, in giving me comfort and consolation, for my tears of sorrow and affliction.

tions, that I met with a little before ; and I remembered the saying of the apostle, Heb. xii. 11, " Now no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous ; nevertheless, afterward it yielded the peaceable fruit of righteousness, unto them which are exercised thereby."

After this, I still waited to know the will and counsel of God, and that he might direct me in my way and order my steps in this my spiritual travail ; for I had none to look unto but to him alone, who was all-sufficient to carry on the work which he had begun, though often by weak, poor, mean, and contemptible instruments in the eyes of the world." Well might I say with the apostle, " But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world, to confound the wise ; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world, to confound the things which are mighty ; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are," 1 Cor. i. 27, 28.

About this time I went to visit some young men, my former companions in profession of religion ; two or three of them were convinced, and received the truth. When we were come to the number of four, it was with me, that we ought to meet together in the name of the Lord ; for I remembered the promise of Christ, who said, " Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," Mat. xviii. 20.

So we all agreed to meet together, but none of us had a house of his own to meet in. We determined therefore to meet upon a hill in a common as near as we could, for the conveniency of each other, we living some miles distant one from another. There we met in silence, to the wonder of the country. When the rain and weather beat upon us on one side of the hill, we went to the other side. We were not free to go into any of the neighbours' inclosures, for they were so blind, dark, and ignorant, that they looked upon us as witches,

and would go away from us, some crossing themselves with their hands about their foreheads and faces.

Thus we continued for some time, till two of them left me; one of them was put apprentice by friends to William Shewen, of London. The other young man was a soldier in Oliver Cromwell's days, and he got, as soon as he could, to be disbanded, so he went to Gloucestershire, and lived among friends. The third was one William Davies, that lived hard by me, and we met together for some time; but one time he staid longer than usual, and a foul dark spirit possessed him, so that the little time we were together, was not comfortable to me, and when we had broke up the meeting, by way of discourse, he asked me, How I did think we should stand in the face of the whole country. I answered him with great zeal, The Serpent, the Serpent, the same that beguiled the woman in Paradise, hath beguiled thee, thou wilt not be able to stand. And while we were yet discoursing, I saw my master coming, who was also convinced, but was not faithful to that good spirit that convinced him of the truth, and shewed him what he ought to do, but did it not, yet he continued loving to friends, and frequented their meetings to his latter end. As I looked back, I saw him coming towards us, with two women following him, the one was his wife, my cruel mistress, the other was his sister; they both had staves in their hands, and when they came unto us, the sister began to beat her brother, my master, and my mistress set a beating of W. Davies. So his trial came very quickly, and W. Davies came no more to meet with me, nor any other friends, for many years; yet he afterwards came among friends, and continued with them to the end of his days, and was buried among them. It so happened that I had never a blow among them, and if I had received any, I had learned of Christ Jesus, my Lord and master, to suffer patiently for his name's sake, and not to depart from him, though my trials, temptations and afflictions were not a few; so that I may say with the apos-

tle, "But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy." Acts xx. 24. 2 Cor. iv. 17. Mat. x. 37, 38, 39.

These young men going away thus, I was left alone again, but still I kept waiting upon the Lord, to know his will and good pleasure concerning me; and when the time of my apprenticeship was over, I found freedom to go to London, to visit friends there, which was in the year 1658-9: and finding many good and living friends there, I settled to my trade, being a felt maker, and very well satisfied I was, that I could go to meetings, and follow my business. When any thing would come to my mind of this my native country, barren and uninhabited with friends and truth, I endeavoured to shut it out, and to keep where I was, and I did what I could; but all my fair pretences and reasonings would not do, disobedient to the Lord I was, and trouble and sorrow and judgment from the Lord came upon me, for not obeying his command, to go to my own country to stand a witness for him there. In this my disobedience, I continued till I lost his presence, and he smote me with trouble within, and pain in my bones, that I could not work nor labour. In this time friends of London were very kind and careful of me, and would freely have administered unto me, but I was not willing to accept of any thing from them, so long as I had of my own. My pain of body and spirit increased upon me, till at last I was forced to bow to the will of the great God, who was too strong for me; and reasoning with him one night, upon the bed of my sorrows, he shewed me clearly, that I was to go to my own country; and I was made willing to give up to go, if he would be pleased to let me know his will and pleasure by this sign and token, that he would remove my pain. I also reasoned with him thus; that I was alone, like a pelican in the wilderness, or a sparrow on a house top. The Lord still commanded me to go, shewing that he would provide an help-meet for me. And

when I had made a covenant with the Lord to go, immediately my pain was removed, and I had peace and quietness of mind and spirit. I arose next morning, and went to my work ; and when those tender friends, that had a regard for me in my sickness, came to see me that morning, I was gone to work ; which was to their admiration.

So the Lord gave me a little time, and he alone provided an help-meet for me ; for I prayed unto him, that she might be of his own providing, for it was not yet manifest to me where she was, or who she was. But one time as I was at Horselydown meeting in Southwark, I heard a woman friend open her mouth, by way of testimony against an evil ranting spirit that did oppose friends much in those days. It came to me from the Lord that that woman was to be my wife, and to go with me to the country, and to be an help-meet for me. After meeting, I drew somewhat near to her, but spoke nothing, nor took any acquaintance with her, nor did I know when, or where I should see her again. I was very willing to let the Lord order it as it seemed best to himself, and therein I was easy ; and in time the Lord brought us acquainted one with another, and she confessed that she had some sight of the same thing that I had seen concerning her. So after some time we parted, and I was freely resigned to the will of God ; and when we came together again, I told her, if the Lord did order her to be my wife, she must come with me to a strange country, where there were no friends but what God in time might call and gather to himself. Upon a little consideration, she said, if the Lord should order it so, she must go with her husband, though it were to the wilderness ; and being somewhat sensible of the workings of God upon her spirit in this matter, she was willing to condescend in her mind to what he wrought in her ; but by hearkening to one who had not well weighed the matter, she became disobedient to what God had revealed to her ; which brought great sorrow and trouble upon her. I went to see her in

this poor condition, and I rested satisfied with the will of God in this concern, being freely resigned, if the Lord had wrought the same thing in her, as was in me, to receive her as his gift to me; and after some time, we waiting upon the Lord together, she arose, and declared before me, and the other friend who had begot doubts and reasonings in her mind, That in the name and power of God she consented to be my wife, and to go along with me, whither the Lord should order us; and I said, in the fear of the Lord, I receive thee as the gift of God to me. So I rested satisfied in the will of God, for a further accomplishment of it.

Under a weighty consideration, which way to take each other in marriage, we concluded to lay our proceedings before our elders, and especially our ancient friend George Fox; (people in those days were married by a priest, or before a justice) and I told G. Fox, we thought to take each other in a public meeting; so he desired the Lord to be with us. And when we saw our clearness in the Lord, we went to the Snail meeting in Tower Street, London, in the morning; and in the afternoon to Horselydown, Southwark: and in that meeting, being the 26th of the fourth month, 1659, in the presence of God, and that assembly, we took each other to be man and wife.

God alone knew our innocence and integrity in going together. It was not for gold nor silver, nor any outward thing; but to be serviceable to him in our age and generation, and to stand witnesses for him and his blessed truth, where he should send us. I might say with Tobias, "Thou madest Adam, and gavest him Eve his wife, for a helper and a stay; of them came mankind. Thou hast said, It is not good that man should be alone, let us make him an aid like himself." Tobit viii. 6.

Soon after, in the Lord's time, we made what haste we could to come to the country, where we believed the Lord would have us to be, and we said, O Lord, if thou wilt go with us in our way, and give us bread to

eat, and raiment to put on, then, O Lord, thou shalt be our God ; and the Lord was with us in all our journey, and gave unto us his sweet and comfortable presence.

Soon after we came to Welch-Pool, those professors, who had been and were in great power, began to be faint-hearted, because of the report of bringing in king Charles the second ; which in a little time was accomplished, and those that were in great pomp, were brought to prison themselves. And I was had before the first justices that were made in these parts by the authority of king Charles the second, in the year 1660, notwithstanding I was a prisoner to the magistrate of the town. When I went up before them, many of the people of the town followed me, to see what would become of me, and to what prison they would send me, or what punishment they would inflict upon me. But the Lord was with me, and I feared not man, whose breath is in his nostrils, but the living God whom I desired to obey in all things. When I was come into the room, it being in the night, the high sheriff, colonel Mostyn, and the justices stood as people in amaze, to see me come with my hat on my head amongst them, and spoke not one word to me for some time. In a little while, I asked them, whether they sent for me there ; they said they did. One of the justices asked me, where I had that new way, and strange religion ; I answered him, It was the good old way that the prophets and servants of God lived and walked in ; and that way I had found, and desired to walk in it all my days. That justice was peevish, and said, I think the man is mad : I think we must have him whipt ; though I answered them according to scripture, yet they were ignorant of it. They demanded of me to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy ; I told them, that my Lord and Master Christ Jesus, and his apostle James, commanded me not to swear at all. They had a priest with them, who took upon him to question me. The first thing he asked me was, which was first, reason or scripture ; I told him, reason was before scripture ;

God made man a reasonable creature in his own image: and the first part of the scriptures now extant, was written by Moses: the apostle tells us, "That the law came by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." I farther told them, "that holy men of God gave them forth as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." As to this, they seemed to be satisfied. But the priest put some ensnaring questions to me; and when I perceived it, I asked the justices what that man was; whether he was a justice of the peace or not; and, whether he was not a priest; they said, They looked upon him to be a fitter man than themselves to discourse with me about religion. I told them, I thought he was as the high-priest among the Jews, who put ensnaring questions to Christ, when he was brought before them, to seek to make him an offender; and turned myself to the justices, and desired them to take notice of that man, who laid those ensnaring questions, to seek to make me an offender. Then the priest left me, and the justices asked me, seeing I would not take the oaths, whether I would give bail; and said, they would take my father's bail for my good behaviour. I told them, my cause was just, and I was innocent, and would give them no bail, for truth binds me to my good behaviour. Then the high-sheriff, a very fair man, told me, I was a strange man, and of a strange persuasion, to come with my hat upon my head among them, and would not take the oaths nor give bail. You know, said he, that Paul said to Festus, Noble Festus. I told him, that Paul had tried Festus, but I had not as yet tried him; and it might be, that I might speak of him, Noble Sheriff. Upon this they were most of them very pleasant. He asked me, whom I did know there; there were several justices my relations present, who very well knew me, but I made mention of none of them; but told them, I knew the chief magistrate of the town, Charles Jones, whose prisoner I was. Then they called for him, and asked him, whether he knew me; he said he did, very well, for I was born and

bred in the town among them, and was a very honest young man all along; but, said he, what devil he hath now, I know not. They asked him, whether I was his prisoner; he said I was. Then, said the justices, take him again to your custody. As I was going out of the room, I told them, that I brought a good hat on my head there, but was going away without it, for some of the baser sort had conveyed it away, but the justices made diligent search about it; so it was brought me again, and put upon my head, and they parted with me very friendly, and the town magistrate took me a little from them, and bid me go home to my wife and family. Many of the inhabitants of the town accompanied me home, praising God in their way for my deliverance, for several things were threatened against me; but, blessed be God, truth was over all, and had dominion; and the witness of God was reached in many of them, and the high-sheriff continued loving and kind to friends, and ready to serve them in what he could all his lifetime, as also was his deputy-sheriff, and several other of the justices.

About the third month, 1660, many of these professors, captains, lieutenants, and soldiers, that were in arms in Oliver's and Richard Cromwell's days, were put in prison in the town of Montgomery. My wife and I did foresee, that I should be sent there to them, though I never was a soldier, nor bore any arms for either side. And in a little time came a troop of horse for me, to bring me to prison. My relations offered to give bail for me, but it was not accepted. So I went to acquaint my wife of it, and to make myself ready to go with them. One of the soldiers came up stairs after me, with a pistol and naked sword, and my wife raising herself up, and sitting in bed, being delivered but three days before of her first child, she said, Dear husband be faithful to God, whatever becomes of me. The soldier seeing her, retreated back. So I went down to the troop of horse, standing in the street before my house. There was among them one bad man, that run

away in my father's debt, threatened to compel me to follow his horse's heels on foot many miles. But by this time several of the aldermen, and others of the town, were gathered together in the street, who desired this man, and others of the troop, to let me alone for that time, and they would engage, body for body, that I should be in prison next morning; but they could not prevail. At length some of the aldermen fell into a rage, and bid them meddle with me if they durst; and bid me go to my house, which I was not willing to do, for great fear came upon me, lest there should be a quarrel among them concerning my going or staying. But one or two of the aldermen, being more considerate than the rest, desired their patience till the captain might be spoken with, who was then in town. He soon granted that I should stay at home that night, and be in Montgomery prison next morning, and was angry at that bad man for his incivility towards the aldermen that interceded for me; for the captain knew I was a peaceable man, and never concerned myself in fighting for one side or other. When the troop had their orders, they went on their way; and I praised God, in the multitude of his mercies, that there was no blood shed that day; for many of the young men of the town, with the aldermen, were gathered together with clubs and staves, saying, What, should a town's born child be so abused by such a bad fellow as that was, before-mentioned: my heart often trembled within me, lest any thing should fall amiss in this tumult; and I desired them often, before they went to the captain, that I might go along with them towards my prison.

So that night I staid at home, and next morning took my journey towards my prison at Montgomery. I avoided the house of my uncle, a justice of the peace in this county, near my way, and brother-in-law to this captain, lest he should stop me from going to prison. So I went there myself alone, and told the marshal, John Mason, that I was come a prisoner; and he took me up to an upper garret for my lodging, but I had the

liberty of the house, as well as other prisoners, there being many Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, who were formerly my great acquaintance; but now they appeared very strange, and would not discourse with me. I considered the reason, and was informed, that these old formal church-members of professors had agreed among themselves that they would not discourse with me, nor receive any books from me, lest the most serious inward Christians amongst them should turn Quakers. But in a little time their orders and covenants were broken, and I was moved to go to their meeting, sometimes having little to say among them, but a sigh or a groan, and a travail in my spirit for them, which did often put them out of order in their preaching and praying; and as the Lord would order it, I spoke a few words among them. A Baptist was convinced there, and came to meet with me in my room.

Cadwallader Edwards was also convinced, and came up with us to meet in the prison; and then discourses and disputes began between them and me. I wrote a few lines to send home to my wife, but knew not by whom to send it, for it was very hard to send any papers out of prison: the marshal, or jailer, would examine and search such as came in, or went out for letters. An old friend, an acquaintance of mine, came to visit her friends and brethren the professors in prison, whom I desired to carry that letter to my wife, as she went through our town of Welch-pool, to her home; she was afraid to meddle with it, partly for fear of the jailer, and also lest she should offend her brethren there. I desired her not to be afraid, for I would read it to her first, and the jailer might see it if he pleased; and after I had read it to her, she was tenderly affected, turned to her brethren again, and said, surely these people will never come to us, but we must go to them. Some time after, through much trouble and affliction, she came to receive the truth, to live in it, and obey it; her name was Margaret Bowen, wife of John Bowen of Colfryn, and mother to Peter Bowen, in Martin's-le Grand, London.

In a little time my service was over among those professors in that prison, and the Lord made way for my enlargement. In about two weeks I came away, and left the rest of the prisoners there, where they continued a considerable time. I was well satisfied with the goodness of God, that I found his presence, life, and power with me; a present help in the time of need, which kept me low and humble, that I durst not rejoice that spirits were made subject; but rather rejoice, that I found my name written in heaven. I came home in great love and peace to my wife and family, and many of my loving neighbours rejoiced to see me.

I continued about my calling and business, and waited upon God to know his mind and will concerning me. In this time I heard of an honest old woman, who had received the truth some time before at Montgomery, her name was Ann Hamon, wife of Thomas Hamon; my wife and I went to visit her.

About the year 1661, I went to a meeting at Edgemont near Wem, in Shropshire. Here our friend William Gibson and I were taken prisoners, with about 25 or 26 more, and sent to Shrewsbury. We found the temper of the jailer to be very cruel. He threatened us with a great deal of hardship, if we did not eat of his meat, drink of his drink, and lie on his beds, and give him what he demanded. We told him, we were the king's prisoners, and demanded a free prison, and straw to lie upon; but he in a rage denied us that, and put us in a little room, where there was scarce place for us to lie down. When night came, sleep came upon us, we being weary by travelling so many miles on foot, but we were made willing and able to suffer all things; so that night we lay upon the boards, and it was pleasant unto us, being warm weather, and about the time of hay-harvest. The next morning we were very fresh and well, praising God for his mercies and goodness to us, when the jailor came to us, and asked, how we liked our lodging, and how we slept; we told him, we slept in peace of conscience and quietness of mind, for we

suffered for conscience-sake towards God, and durst not break the command of Christ and the apostle, who commanded us not to swear at all. For our supposed transgressions was not only for meeting together, but for refusing the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The jailer being a very passionate inconsiderate man, would go out in the morning from his own house, and not come back till night, and then returned so drunken, that he could hardly speak or stand. The next night when we went to lie down, the room was so little we could not all lie at once. The next morning we complained to the jailer, that there was not enough of room for us all to lie down, and desired him to let us have a little straw, but it would not be granted us. By this time the friends of the town had liberty to come to visit us, and to bring us in some provision; and when the door was opened for us to go into another room, there being a bedstead with cords in that room, William Gibson and I lay upon the cords, and next morning we found, that the print of the cords was not only in our clothes, but in our skin also, so that it had been easier for us to have lain upon the boards, as we did before. By this time having well observed the jailer's humour and temper, I began to be uneasy in myself to let him alone; so I watched him in the morning upon his first rising, when he came to the court before our prison door, and began to discourse with him about the prisoners that lay in such hardship. I told him, they were honest men and most of them masters of families, and had good beds to lie upon at home, but now they were content for Christ's and the gospel's sake, to suffer that hardship, I desired him to let them have liberty to go to their friends in town at night, and to come there in the morning: and if he would not be pleased to grant them a little straw, then to let them go lie in their own beds; which he surlily denied, calling them a company of rogues and knaves, and such like terms. He asked me, what made me plead for them; I told him, they were my friends. He answered, Why your friends?

You are no Quaker, are you? I said, I am called a Quaker. He answered, You do not look like a Quaker; and he looked me in my face, and on my hands and body. I desired him not to disgrace me so, as to tell me I was no Quaker. Then he asked me, where I lived; I told him, when I was at home, I lived at Welch-Pool, and my family was there. But said he, where are you now? I asked him, whether he did not know I was a prisoner there with my friends; and he asked me, whether I did lie upon the boards with them; I told him I did. He said, he was sorry for it; but went away in anger, being much discontented in himself. I did not see him till next morning, at which time I went to him again, and friendly discoursed with him; he said, he enquired about me in town, and I might take the liberty of the town. I acknowledged his kindness; but told him, it would be no comfort to me, to have the liberty of the town, and leave my friends and brethren there. He said, then I might stay there with them. So I did not see him till the next morning and then I went to him again. He was so cross and ill-conditioned, he would not suffer any other friend to speak to him. William Gibson did so judge him for his wickedness, that he kept him close in a room by himself. After five or six nights lying on the boards, I prevailed with him, that friends might have the liberty of the town in the night, and be there in the morning. So the next day he began to be more friendly to us. After some days, I desired our friend John Millington to come with me to the jailer's house, to see whether we could have leave to go home till the next assizes; but then it was not granted; but he told me, if I pleased I might go home till then. I told him, he might as freely let them go as me, for most of them lived in the county, and I lived out of the county; but no more could we have that time of him. I was uneasy in myself (seeing I had got a place in him) to let him alone, and pressed for my friends farther liberty. A little time afterwards, by serious arguments, as it was harvest time, and hard for

their wives, or some of their families, to come with weekly necessities for them, I, with my friend John Millington, prevailed with him to let them go, and he took our words for our appearance at the next assizes.

Through the goodness of God, we all returned together to Shrewsbury, to our prison, before the assizes, and found a great alteration in the jailer; he was very low and mournful. He had lost a prisoner, a malefactor, and was to be tried for his life for his escape. He was very loving and kind to us, and let friends go themselves to Bridgenorth, about fourteen miles, where the assizes were then held; and he desired me to stay with him in his affliction, and not be much from him. He said his life was at stake, and if God and the judge would shew him any mercy, he said, it was upon our friends' account, and not for any deserts that were in himself, for he confessed he had been too severe to us; but notwithstanding, said he, you are merciful men, and can forgive wrongs and injuries.

When we came to Bridgenorth, we were put in a large spacious room in the house of correction, to be there in the day time, that we might be all together, and ready when called for; but we had liberty of going in and out for lodging, and what necessities we wanted; no keeper being over us, but what we set ourselves to look to the door, and that too many friends might not be out at once, and those were not to stay out too long. We saw it was convenient, that friends should go out by two and two, to walk the streets; for it was a strange thing to people to hear of Quakers. Once it fell to my lot to be at the door, (though the door was always open, that such who would, might come and see us: with several of whom we had reasonings and disputes about the way of truth and righteousness) there came one, who appeared something like a gentleman, and asked me, whether he might see the Quakers; I desired him to walk up along with me, and he should see them. When I had brought him up to the room where friends were walking I told him,

those were they. He answered, these be Christians like ourselves, but where are the Quakers? I told him, these were they that were called Quakers. He asked me, whether I was one of them; I told him, I was one so called. I had an opportunity to declare to him the way of truth, and that the name of Quaker was given to us in scorn and derision; and he departed very friendly. Some people were so blind and dark in those days, that they looked upon us to be some strange creatures, and not like other men and women. They would gather much about us in the town, and we had good opportunities to speak of the things of God to them. But I was pretty much with the jailer, waiting when his trial would be; and when it came, I went with him, and stood somewhat near him, which he was very glad of. The jury cleared him, being not found guilty of a wilful escape; which was gladness to him, and satisfaction to us. And when the assizes was near at an end, the judge returned us to one justice Holland, except William Gibson, to whom the judge put it, whether he would go home, if he were discharged: but he could not make the judge such a promise as he required, so he was committed again to the same prison; but we were freely and friendly discharged, having had good service in that town, and the Lord was with us, and brought us safe home, to the comfort of our families and ourselves; and we have cause to bless and praise the name of the Lord, for ever, for all his mercies and goodness to us all along, in the time of our afflictions and persecutions. We could say, Surely God is good to Israel, and unto all them that draw nigh unto him with an upright heart.

In the year 1662, a farther concern came upon me about meetings in this country. One that was convinced in the prison of Montgomery, when I was there, viz. Cadwalader Edwards, who lived near Dolobran, promised me that we should have his house to keep a meeting in. I went to know whether he would perform his promise, which he readily granted; and I ap-

pointed the day and time with him, which he gave notice of to his neighbours thereabouts. I being destitute of a friend to accompany me to the meeting, depended upon the Lord, that he would provide a suitable companion to go with me. And my wife going to Shrewsbury, I told her of the meeting, and desired her to speak to friends there of it, that if there was any public friend there, he might come home along with her. There happened to be Richard Moor, of Salop, a worthy and faithful labourer in the gospel, who came along with her to our house in Welch-Pool. This was in the ninth month, 1662. A day or two after, we went to the meeting, where came in Charles Lloyd, of Dolobran, who was formerly in commission of the peace, and had been in election to be high-sheriff of that county, and also several of his well-meaning neighbours, some of them were professors, belonging to the same people that I formerly belonged to. The Lord was not wanting, but afforded unto us his good presence; life and power came from him, that reached to the hearts and understandings of most of the people then present, who gave testimony to the truth, life, and power of God, that appeared with us that time; and in the love, fear, and life of truth, we parted.

The next morning we went to visit Charles Lloyd, of Dolobran, who tenderly received us, and several that were at the meeting, came there that day; where we had a sweet, comfortable, refreshing time, in the presence of the Lord; as it is said, "In his presence is fulness of joy, and at his right hand there are pleasures for evermore." Psal. xvi. 11.

The report of this meeting went through the country, some saying, that most of that side of the country were turned Quakers. Whereupon divers were sent for, before Edward Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbury, to a place where he then lived, called Llyssin, about three miles from Dolobran. After some discourse with them, he sent them to Welch-Pool to prison, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, which

they refused, because they could not swear at all; they being about six sent together, viz. Charles Lloyd, Hugh David, Richard David, Cadwalader Edwards, Anne Lawrence, Sarah Wilson, &c. where they were continued very close prisoners.

In a little time were added prisoners to them, William Lewis, and Margaret his wife, who were owners of the house at Cloddiecochion, before-mentioned, where I was moved to go, about the year 1657, to a meeting of the professors, afterwards the place of my abode. This William Lewis, my near relation, was he that led me out of the house to the common, and shut the gate against me, as before related, page 38. And thus the word of the Lord was fulfilled, that came to me then, That those people should own and receive truth, and that house should be a meeting-house for us, which it now is, and hath been these forty years.

The oath of allegiance and supremacy being tendered to them, they could not take it for conscience-sake; swearing at all being forbidden by Christ and his apostle James; so they were sent to prison, and continued prisoners there. Edward Evans also, an honest and substantial man, was committed to prison for the same supposed offence, who was convinced some time before; I having had some weighty discourse with him about the things of God. He told me, when he was in prison with Vavasor Powell, with many more of their brethren in Pool jail, that Vavasor leaning upon a window of their prison that opened to the street, saw me and my dear wife pass by, and said, Behold Zacharias and Elizabeth: it was said of them, that they walked in all the commandments of God blameless. This Edward Evans, and some others of the prisoners, looking out through the window, saw us two called Quakers, that he and others a little before had preached severely against. They looked upon it, that the Lord had forced him to give that testimony of us, and several of them, as Edward Evans said, were convinced by that testimony of his concerning us; and in some time after

came to live in obedience to the truth, and suffered for it.

These prisoners were kept very close; some of them were substantial freeholders, who were put in a dirty nasty place near the stable and house of office, being a low room; the felons and other malefactors in a chamber over head, their chamber-pots and excrements, &c. often falling upon them. Charles Lloyd, who was a little before in commission of the peace, was put in a little smoky room, and did lie upon a little straw himself for a considerable time; and at length his tender wife Elizabeth, that was of a considerable family, (daughter of Sampson Lort, near Pembroke in South Wales) was made willing to lie upon straw with her dear and tender husband. And thus they both, with the rest of friends, did rather "choose to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season."

I staid at home with them for some time, keeping our meetings in prison; but at length the jailer had strict charge to keep me from among them, alleging, that I strengthened them in their way and principles; and when the jailor kept me out, I went to a neighbour's back yard, having leave of him, to see them and speak with them.

The sufferings of friends being now very great, and still increasing, they sent the following paper to the quarter-sessions held at Montgomery.

To the Justices and Magistrates of this County of Montgomery.

"FORASMUCH as it is not unknown to you, that we, who by the scorers of this world (that know not God) are called Quakers, are detained and kept close prisoners, only for the testimony of a good conscience towards God and man, our friends not being suffered to visit us, though drunkards, liars, thieves and robbers, are not debarred of their friends' admittance to them

This unheard of cruelty, were enough itself to establish us in our ways, if they were never so erroneous, as you say. This we are persuaded in our hearts, that never did Christ, nor any of his apostles, use this, or any other way of cruelty, or persecution, to convince any of their errors, but contrarywise, by sound doctrine, and good conversation, and 'doing unto others, as they would they should do unto them,' for that was the rule that Christ left to true Christians.

"Now consider, in the soberness of your hearts and spirits, that if you were in our condition, would not you desire your enlargement? And seeing it is the king's clemency, in a declaration bearing date the 26th day of December, 1662, wherein he says, he is glad to lay hold on this occasion, to re-establish and renew unto all his subjects concerned in those promises, indulged by a true tenderness of conscience. This assurance and confirmation of his promise made at Breda, upon the word of a king, viz.

"We do declare all liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question for differencs of opinions in matters of religion. And moreover he saith, in the same declaration, as for what concerns the penalties upon those, who living peaceably, do not conform thereunto through scruple and tenderness of misguided consciences, but modestly, without scandal, perform their devotions in their own way. We understand by these words, viz. that it is his fatherly care, to publish this his declaration, to stop and prevent all other acting, according to former acts made against liberty of tender consciences. And we hope that you will be as favourable to us, your neighbours, (seeing power is committed to your hands) as the king, being chief magistrate, is unto his subjects. These things have we seen fit and convenient to lay before you, that you may understand we are not ignorant of the king's clemency towards us. And we (whose names are underwritten) do wait the fulfilling and performing this one other word more of a king, by you

who profess yourselves to be his obedient and loyal subjects; notwithstanding all which former words and promises of the king, the supreme magistrate, we have been persecuted more by you, his inferior magistrates in this county, than in many other counties. And farther, that you may be left without excuse for that, if you do persecute us, it is without any cause from us, or any order from the supreme magistrate, the king of England. If you do justice herein, the Lord will bless you; if not, sin will lie at your door.

"These from your friends, that desire the good and welfare of your souls and bodies, that have received the spirit of meekness; that can pray for them that persecute us, and despitefully use us, who in patience and long-suffering are content to submit to the will of God, who renders to every man according to the deeds done in the flesh."

Humphrey Wilson,
Richard Davies,
Edward Evans,
Charles Lloyd,
Hugh David,
William Lewis,

Sarah Wilson,
Margaret Lewis,
Catherine Evans,
Anne Lawrence.

The foregoing paper was sent to the magistrates at their quarter-sessions, held at Montgomery, the 8th day of the eleventh month, 1662.

A copy of it also was sent to the chief justices at Ludlow by the jailor, together with another paper directed to them.

A little time after this I went to Penllyn, near Bala, in Merionethshire, to visit some friends and tender professors there, who received me kindly, and there I settled a meeting among them, in the power of God, and from thence I came home, where I staid but a little while, to visit these prisoners. Soon after I went to the house of Owen Lewis, at Tyddyney Gareg, near Dolegelle, in Merionethshire, a man that had been

in commission of the peace in Oliver's days, and was newly come from prison from Bala, who received me kindly, (he was first convinced by Thomas Briggs.) From thence I went to Robert Owen's of Dolycere, near Dolegelle, who had also been a justice of peace, and a commander in Oliver's time. He received me and my testimony; as did also Owen Humphrey of Llwyngwrl, near the sea-side in the said county, (who was a justice of the peace in Oliver's days) and his father, his brothers Samuel and John Humphrey. These, with many more there, received the truth in the love of it, and continued faithful, serviceable men in their country, kept meetings in their houses, and many were gathered to the Lord among the rocks and mountains in those parts; this was in the year 1662. After this journey, the Lord brought me safe home to my wife and family, to the comfort of friends, and one another in the Lord.

Not long after this, Thomas Lloyd, brother to Charles Lloyd, of Dolobran, hearing his brother was in prison, came from Oxford to visit him, having been a student there several years (as also his brother Charles had been before him) they told me that the great sufferings of friends, in that city of Oxford, by the magistrates, and by the wild and ungodly scholars, did work much upon them; and they had some secret love for friends then. So when Thomas Lloyd came home, being some time with friends in prison, and elsewhere, the Lord opened his understanding by his light, life, and power, and he received the truth and was obedient to it, took up his daily cross, and followed Jesus, came to be his disciple, was taught by him, and went no more to Oxford for learning; and I may say with David, "The Lord made him wiser than all his former teachers." He staid pretty much at home, and with his eldest brother Charles Lloyd, and in these parts.

The jailer of Welch-Pool was very cruel to friends, and continued them in that nasty hole before-mentioned, till Edward Evans fell sick, by reason of the dampness and unhealthiness of the room, and died; and the jailer

would not suffer us to have his body to be buried, except we would pay the coroner, and so clear him, as if he had no hand in his death; but at last his relations prevailed without a coroner's inquest, and they took and buried him on a hill, on the back-side of the steeple-house in Welsh-Pool; and it happened, as they were digging the grave, they found some bones of a man, and upon inquiry in some old records, it was said, there was an old judge buried there; and the name of that place is called ever since, Judge's Hill. We had got no burying-place of our own then, but were about having one.

Thomas Lloyd and I not being prisoners now, (though except us two) most that were then convinced were prisoners; the report of such who were turned Quakers being spread abroad, they were soon sent for before a magistrate, and the oath of allegiance and supremacy was tendered both to men and women; and they for conscience-sake refusing it, were sent to prison in order to be premunired.

My friend Thomas Lloyd and I were moved to go and visit most of the justices that had a hand in committing friends to prison; we began at the farthest justice towards Machynlleth, and came down to Edward, Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbury, at Llyssin aforesaid, who had committed Charles Lloyd, and several other friends; we understood on the way, that he was at a bowling-green, and several with him, near a place called the Cann Office, near the highway side, and not far from Llyssin, where we beheld them bowling. We considered with each other, which way to take, there being a peevish priest, the said lord's chaplain with them; so I asked Thomas Lloyd, whether he would engage the priest in discourse, or go to the said lord; which he chose, and got into the green leisurely towards him, where most of them knew Thomas; but he went not in their complimenting posture, He staid there but a little while, and they broke up their game, and while he discoursed with the Lord Herbert I dis-

coursed a little with the priest. Lord Herbert coming towards the priest and me, he said to the priest, Mr. Jones, what have you got there? He answered, A Quaker, and haberdasher of hats, that lives in Welch-Pool. Oh! said Lord Herbert, I thought he was such an one, he keeps his hat so fast upon the block. Then he intending and preparing to come down a great steep ditch, I stept down to lend him my hand to help him; another priest would have stept between me and him, but Lord Herbert refused the priest's help; and stopping a little, said to the priest, Here is a brother that stands by will say, The blind leads the blind, and both will fall into the ditch. The priest was so drunk, that he could not stand by himself. This lord being a very big fat man, took my help to come down, so we went along with him towards his own house at Llyssin, laying the sufferings of our friends before him, and that their sufferings were for their conscience-sakes towards God. He gave us no grant then for their enlargement, but we heard that he sent private instructions, and they had more liberty. The jailer had an empty house at the end of the town, and there he let friends go, which was a sweet convenient place near the fields, without any keeper over them, and they had the liberty of the town, and to go where they pleased, except to their own houses.

So Charles Lloyd took a house in town for him and his family to live in; and we kept our meetings in that house of the jailer's aforesaid, for several years. Most of friends by this time being under a premunire, many friends came from several places to visit them, and those that were convinced towards Machynlleth, William Evans, and several others of that end of the county (who were formerly Independents) were sent here to prison upon the same account; refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Peter Price also, a worthy man of Radnorshire, was sent to this prison; he had been in commission of the peace in Oliver's days; he, with several others with him, were commit-

ted by the justices of this county, to the house of correction in Welch-Pool, for three month, as vagrants, because they came out of their own county Radnorshire, adjoining to this county of Montgomeryshire, where they remained the three months; but they had the liberty of the town, and to go to the meetings with the rest of the prisoners. Other friends, that lived in and about the town, met with them in prison, and considerable meetings we had in that house.

A little after this, Thomas Ellis, called a deacon in the independent congregation, was convinced; a man of great esteem among them, and so he was also afterwards amongst us. He came to my house to visit the prisoners, his former fellow church members, and showed me a letter that came to him from their minister, Vavasor Powell, lamenting the deplorable condition and danger they were in at that time; saying, that the Christians were in great danger to be split between two rocks, that was, the World and Q. (meaning the Quakers) but the worst, said he is Q. But the Lord had opened Thomas Ellis's understanding, and given him a sight of their decay and formalities. Some years before the Lord did break in among them, to the convincing of many of them; for Thomas told me, that there came two women friends among them, in the time of their breaking of their bread, (I suppose it was before I came from London) and when they had the motion of truth upon them, they opened their mouths in the name of the Lord, in much fear and humility; so that the Independent elders stood still and gave the women leave to speak what they had to say to the people; then the professors went on again with their business, and after some time the Friends spoke again; and then they commanded them to be taken away, but none was very ready to do it. Then their minister, Vavasor Powell, called,—Brother Ellis, take them away. Thomas Ellis told me, that he remembered Christ was not hasty in passing sentence upon the woman, that the Jews brought before him in the case of

adultery; but he stooped down, and wrote with his finger upon the ground, as though he heard them not. So T. Ellis told me he was not willing to take them away, till they had fully cleared themselves of what was upon them to deliver among them; but at last they called to him again, and bid him take them away. Then he rose from among the company and went to them, and desired them to go with him to the next room, for he had something to say to them, and the friends went readily with him; then he told them on this wise: Friends, you see how we are met together here; we are like the Prodigal, who was spending his portion, and we have a little yet unspent; and when we have spent all, we must return to our heavenly Father, and come to you and your way. The friends went away well satisfied. I have made much inquiry who these friends were, and from whence they came, but could not certainly learn who they were. As for our friend Thomas Ellis, the Lord blessed him, and poured his spirit upon him, and gave him part of the ministry, and he became a faithful labourer and serviceable man among us; and at length he was made a prisoner here at Welch-Pool.

About the year 1663, our friend James Parkes came from the north, hearing that some of his acquaintance and fellow church members owned truth; he came to give them a visit in the love of God, and also to visit those Independents he formerly walked among that were not convinced; and he left a paper with me to deliver to them, which was thus:

A Lamentation and Warning from the Lord God, in the Love of Christ Jesus unto all the Professors in North Wales, especially those about Wrexham in Denbighshire and Welch-Pool in Montgomeryshire, whom formerly I have known, and walked with, in a Fellowship and worship, till the Lord awakened me out of Sleep, and opened in me an ear to hear his

Voice, which cried, Come out from amongst them, and be thou separate; touch no unclean thing, and I will receive thee.

“ Friends,

“ Hear and lend an ear, O ye professors of Wrexham and Welch-Pool, and all the places and towns adjacent thereunto, who have been called churches of Christ, and members of his body, and followers of the Lamb. I am come in my Father's name to visit you, and in bowels of his love, in this the day of your calamity and adversity have I visited many of you, in obedience to his command, who sent me in his name and fear into these parts, chiefly for your sakes at this time, that you might hear, and come to fear him, whose voice hath shaken the earth, and removed it out of its place; and he is making the keepers of the house to tremble, and he hath bound the strong man in many, that was armed, and formerly kept the house; then all was at peace; but a stronger than he is risen, and manifest in the hearts of thousands, even Christ Jesus, the light of the world, who enlighteneth every one that cometh into the world, that all in him, and through him, might believe. He is dividing the spoil, and spoiling principalities and powers; and they whose eyes come to see him the Lord of Hosts, come to be undone. When Moses saw the appearance of the Lord, he did exceedingly fear and quake. It was he that made Habbakuk tremble, and his lips to quiver. And whosoever comes to know Christ, must know him through death, be baptized into his death, and suffer with him, before they come to live and reign with him. They must repent of all their wickedness, and turn from it, before they can come to be assured of rest and peace. Let none think God will wink at their wickedness, as he did in the times of ignorance; for now he is leaving all without excuse, and calling every man to repent. The light is risen, that manifests sin and hypocrisy in them that hold truth in unrighteousness, it is not the name of be-

ing called church-members, will serve any of your turns.

“O ye professors of all sorts, from the highest to the lowest, from the richest to the poorest! I am moved of the Lord God to warn you, that while you have time and space, you may be redeemed out of all evil; and that you might come out from amongst evil-doers, and so be saved from the wrath and destruction that will overtake the workers of iniquity, who repent not of their evil deeds, to give God the glory; and with the whirlwind of his wrath, he will vex you in his sore displeasure. O ye professors of Christ, and the apostles’ words! who are not come to his life, nor to be of the same mind that he was of, who endured the contradiction of sinners, and was made perfect through sufferings; whom the apostles bore testimony to, and suffered for; being of the same mind, they did not shrink nor bow, nor let go their testimony, when persecution arose because of the word; but they overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his testimony, which they held; and they loved not their lives unto death.—Are you all so blind, that you cannot see yourselves to be out of the light and image of Christ, and out of their practice, who followed him, and confessed him, and did not deny him before men; neither did they change their religion, as the powers of the earth changed. For whatsoever the powers of the earth countenanced, or discountenanced, they mattered not, who were of the true church that is in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the pillar and ground of truth; but that which God made manifest to be his will, that they did; and though they were charged, by the powers that were then, to speak no more in his name, yet they spoke in his name, and did not deny his name.

“Dare you say, that you are saints, and of this church of Christ, and yet live in the breach of his commandments, who said, ‘Swear not at all;’ as some more eminent in esteem amongst you have done, and have taught others to do? Doth not the land mourn

because of swearing? Are not such like the Scribes and Pharisees, who would not enter into the kingdom of heaven themselves, nor suffer them that would to enter in? Are not such now shutting up the kingdom of heaven against men? And must not the woes from the Lord be pronounced against them? Yea, assuredly, and will overtake them; pain shall suddenly come upon them, as on a travailing woman, and they shall not escape it. The Lord is come to deliver his people out of the teeth of these devourers, who with good words and fair speeches have deceived the hearts of some more simple and honest amongst you, and made merchandize of them, by promising you peace, while you are in your wicked ways and works; which the true prophets and apostles of old, whom the Lord sent, could not do; neither can they, who are of the same descent, royal seed, and offspring now; they know, there is no peace to be spoken to any, while they are in their wicked ways, drinking up iniquity as the ox drinketh water. Oh! my heart is broken within me, and I cannot but take up a lamentation for you, who have been esteemed beautiful, and the glory of many that have been called churches, to see you carried away captive, by the prince of the power of the air, that ruleth in the children of disobedience; and that you should be yet lying under the bondage of corruption and in sin, the wages whereof is death; out of the glorious liberty of the sons of God; and that death should reign over you, subjecting you to the power of the enemy; and you are taken captive by him at his will, laden with sins, and led away with divers lusts, like the silly women spoken of in the scriptures of truth, that were ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth, but resist it; and so err in your minds, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God, though you talk of them. If you knew the scriptures, and the power of God, which brings into the life of them, you would witness the ability the saints in former times had, and now the saints of the Most High have, to stand

over the powers of darkness, hell and death; then you would come to that which cannot be shaken, nor the gates of hell prevail against.—But have not the powers of darkness prevailed against you, overcome you, and made you bow to their will, and to their laws, that will bind the conscience, and hinder its full liberty?

“Oh! consider seriously, and weigh in the coolness of your spirits, and in the fear of the Lord, what you have done; whether you have not received the beast’s mark, either in your foreheads or in your hands: have you not fainted in the day of adversity? Have you not let go the profession of your faith, and wavered in your minds? Have you not licked up your old vomits again? Are you not wallowing in the filth of iniquity, and in your fleshly minds, walking in sensuality and in the carnal mind, which is enmity against God? Is it not death to be carnally minded? Are they not in death that are in the carnal mind? It is not strange to me, if I find such an enmity; because I expect no other from natural men, who perceive not the things of the spirit. You have rejected the chief corner-stone, which is laid in Sion for a foundation, and have not believed in the Light of the world, who is become the Head-stone in God’s building and husbandry, and of the church that is pure, without spot or wrinkle, which is in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the pillar and ground of truth. This is the city sought out, not forsaken. This is the habitation of God through the spirit, the stones whereof are laid with fair colours, the foundation of sapphire, and all the borders of pleasant stones. Such being redeemed out of sin, and from under the bondage of corruption, cannot plead for it, as some, looked upon amongst you more than others, do; and would endeavour to make you believe, that the prophet Isaiah was always a man of unclean lips; but that was before he was undone, and while the woe was upon him. Ah, brutish is that spirit that would imagine that our God should make use of a man to do so much for his name and honour, as Isaiah did, and yet

continue a man of unclean lips. This I testify, that Isaiah's iniquity was taken away, and his sins purged out. Such manifest themselves to be ignorant of Christ's death and manifestations, which is to take away sin, and in him is no sin. All that come to believe in his light, and to walk in it, have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth them from all sin. Such come by him to be made free from sin, and servants to righteousness; not of sin; for sin and iniquity comes to be done away; and then God beholds no iniquity in Jacob, nor transgression in Israel: and to such is given the tongue of the learned, to speak a word in due season to the weary. Such come to know the pure language, which the Lord promised to turn to his people. Such set a watch before their mouths, and have a bridle for their tongue. Now some plead for uncleanness, because the prophet said, he was a man of unclean lips, before he was touched with the lively coal, and before his iniquity was done away, and his sins purged out; and assuredly one day you shall all know that this is a false cover, too narrow to cover yourselves with, who break the commands of Christ, and teach others so to do; and that put your hands to the plough, and look back; so that you are not fit for the kingdom of heaven. You are filled with your own ways, wicked devices, and false covers you get to cover yourselves withal; but all your false coverings will prove too narrow, and your beds of ease, and false rests, which you think to stretch yourselves upon, too short; and no rest or peace there shall you have, but you shall all yet be farther tried, and your folly be made more manifest; and all the false covers, all professors out of the life and power of God have been covered with, shall be plucked off; yea, all that are covered, and not with the Spirit of the Lord. The woe is to them who are adding sin to sin, and are not come to cleanness of heart, or cleanness of lips; and as long as you are in the uncleanness, and the best of you, as a brier pleading for it, blush for shame! Relinquish the title of

church-membership, till you come to tread in the steps of Christ, and obey him; for his servants ye are to whom ye obey. Deceive yourselves no longer with the name of Christians only, but come to the nature, to witness the first old nature and birth slain, and brought under; which you all must do, before ever you come to know the new nature, or birth, that is of the spirit; for that which is born of the flesh, that is flesh; and that which is born of the spirit, that is spirit. If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away, and all things are become new. The church of Christ is made up of living stones, squared and hewed into order, complete together, made a spiritual household, purged, washed, and made white, and the filth of the flesh done away. Such come to be vessels of honour, fit for the Master's use; receive of the heavenly treasure into the earthen vessel, and out of the abundance of the treasury of the heart, bring forth good things. With the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.

“So every one come to him that searcheth the heart, trieth the reins, and will reward every one according to their works, or deeds done in the body, whether they be good or evil; for the Lord God will be no longer mocked, such as you sow you must reap; he will no longer bear your halt and blind service, and dead worships, out of the life and power of God. Your hypocrisy and dissimulation is seen by the spirit of truth, that leads and guides into all truth, which you shall one day know is now striving with you, as it did with them before the flood; yet shall not always strive with men. It saith, who requireth these things at your hands? And do you think God is pleased, or will now be served with the dry, dead, and airy service and worships? I tell you nay; the light of the glorious gospel is manifest, and the pearl of great price is found, and many have sold, and parted with all which was most dear to them, and which they most delighted in, to buy it; and

they who come to believe in Christ Jesus, the Light, the Way, the Truth, the Life, and to walk in the light, they stumble not, nor stagger at the promises; but come to have life in themselves, and their minds, words, and actions, are seasoned. They are the salt of the earth, a city set on a hill, that cannot be hid, and their lights shine so before men, that they who are not wilfully blind, may see their good works, and godly conversation coupled with fear; and they that walk in the light, as he is in the light, have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Christ they witness, cleansing them from all sin. So if ever you come to know God aright, you must turn to the light that reproves you for evil, for the reproof of instruction is the way to life; and they that hate that which reproves them for their evil deeds, and sets their sins in order before them, abide in the chambers of death, and know not rest, life, and peace for their souls. Now as you come to the light, and wait in the light which comes from Christ, all your sins will be set in order before you, and it will shew you all that ever you did; as you shall one day know, to your woe and misery, if you continue rejecting him. This is he in whom we believe, and of whom the prophets and apostles bore witness, whose name is better than every name, unto which every knee must bow, and every tongue confess; and every tongue that would rise up in judgment against him, shall be condemned, and shall fall before him.

"Therefore beware, and take heed what you do; repent of all your evil deeds, of all your hard speeches which you have uttered against him, and his glorious appearance in his sons and daughters, in this the day of his power, wherein he hath made many willing to follow him wheresoever he goeth, even through many tribulations, who have washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb: when you deny him, and will follow him no farther than it will make with your peace in the world, and enjoyment of your pleasures, and keep the

friendship and favour of the world, which none ever did, but who were adulterated from the life of God, and turned against the pure spirit of God in themselves; and this shall you know.

“So whether you will hear or forbear, in this I shall have peace. My reward is with God, in that I have discharged my duty, and warned you before your day be quite over, before the Lord leave off stretching forth his hand, who knows and searches the hearts of all men, who knows my love towards you all, and to that which is pure of him, which never consented to sin, in all your consciences; even to that, and nothing else, can I, or desire I to be made manifest. I believe there is a seed to be brought forth from amongst you, which must be gathered into the true fold of everlasting rest and peace; for which seed's sake I travail night and day, waiting for its redemption and restoration, who am your friend, who seeks not yours but you; that you might come to know in this your day, the things that concern your everlasting peace, comfort, and true settlement, (upon that rock that cannot be shaken, nor the gates of hell ever prevail against) before they be hidden from your eyes. Knowing the terrors of the Lord, and the wrath that is to be revealed from heaven against all that hold truth in unrighteousness; and having obtained mercy from the Lord, and in his name, the strong tower, hid myself, I cannot but persuade all to come into the same; and being in a deep sense of the loving-kindness of the Lord, and what he hath done for my soul, since I walked with you, and was esteemed one of you, too large here to relate; neither indeed am I able to demonstrate the loving-kindness of the Lord, in the visitation of his pure love, in turning me from darkness (which I must confess all the time I was with you, I walked in) into his marvellous light, and from the power of satan, unto God. He hath made me to feel and witness his power, wherein, through his good will towards me, I have found the ability to perform and to do the good, that when I was

amongst you I desired to do; and likewise to resist the evil that I would not do. This is the Lord's own doings, and it is marvellous in my eyes; and I desire never to forget the Lord's great love to me, and powerful effectual working in me, to will and to do of his own good pleasure. I desire not to eat my morsel alone; but that all may come to taste and see how good the Lord is. Great and marvellous are his works, just and true are all his ways, he waits to be gracious, and there is no want to them that fear the Lord. He never forsakes nor doth withhold any good thing from them that walk uprightly.

"So, friends, while you have time, prize it, and put not the day of the Lord far from you, for the Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness; but his long-suffering is not for any to perish, but that all shall come to repentance. Now is the day that every man's works must be tried, and every man's faith and love to God will be tried. Now is the day that many great professors make shipwreck of their faith, and of a good conscience, and some that formerly seemed somewhat tender and honest amongst you, are grown sottish and brutish, and their understandings darkened, through the ignorance that is in them. The god of this world hath blinded the eyes of many great professors, by keeping them from the light, by which they might see their ways, and the works which they are doing out of the light, in the blindness which hath happened to them; but if you would come to the light, which is pure, of God in you, then would ye receive power to perform the acceptable will and requirings of the Lord; which that you may come to know and do, is the desire of your friend, that seeks not yours but yot; and desires your everlasting peace and happiness, who formerly was known, and esteemed of, as a brother amongst you, by the name of

JAMES PARKES."

Wrexham, the 9th of the first month, 1662.

Several Friends, both from the North and South of England, were drawn to visit these friends in prison, and many sweet and comfortable epistles were written to them.

There was a great convincement in the year 1662, in these two counties, viz. Montgomeryshire, and Merionethshire; and as meetings increased, several friends came into Welch-Pool, where our meeting was kept in that house that was their prison. The magistrates and priest were discontented, some saying, that there came as many to the meeting, as went to their worship at the church, as they called it,

So the magistrates were resolved to come and break up our meeting, and one first day they came, viz. Thomas Corbet, a counsellor and a justice of peace in this county, together with the two bailiffs of the town, the serjeants at mace and under officers. When they came into the meeting I was at prayer, and they were indifferently civil till I had concluded, and then began to take our names. When they had done, my wife called to justice Corbet, and told him, they had not taken the names of all that were at the meeting; he asked her, who was untaken; and she put her child towards him, about a quarter old. He said, that was under age. She answered, We are all as innocent from plotting, contriving, or thinking any harm to any man, as this little child: which smote much this Thomas Corbet, and several others present. They committed me to one serjeant's house; and Thomas Lloyd, brother to Charles Lloyd, and Samnel Lloyd, (son to Samuel Lloyd of Dudson, in the county of Salop, eldest brother to John and David Lloyd, of London, and Edward Lloyd of Bristol) to the other serjeant's house. When the serjeant, whose house I was committed to, was come from the steeple-house, he turned me out, and bid me go home, I should not stay there. So I went first to see my friends the old prisoners, who were kept, for a little time, more close, and we were not suffered to go to them; they were very glad to see me,

and I was refreshed also to see them, though we could not go to one another. In a little time I went to see the other two prisoners, that were at the other serjeant's house, and the serjeant let them come home with me.

On second-day following it came into my mind, that the magistrates would try us with an offer, to pass by that which they called a transgression, upon condition that we would go to the steeple-house to their worship the next first-day following; which I told to friends.

On third-day following, justice Corbet, and the two bailiffs that had committed us to prison, sent for us before them. So we went, Thomas Lloyd, Samuel Lloyd, and myself. After some discourse with them, they proposed to us, that if we would go to church and hear divine service, as they called it, we should be discharged. I told them, when I was last there, they turned me out of their church, and if I should make any promise to go there, it may be they would do the like by me again. Justice Corbet said, he would engage I should not be turned out. Then I told them, I knew nothing to the contrary, but that I would come there. Justice Corbet seemed to be satisfied; but one of the bailiffs said, Mr. Corbet, do you think that the old Quaker will come to church, except it be to disturb our minister? Corbet asked me again, Whether I would disturb the minister? I told him, if God should put something in my heart to speak to the people, I hope they would not impose upon me to hold my peace. He said, God forbid they should do so! Then I told him, I hoped I should perform what I had promised to do; and so they discharged us. Now none was under an engagement to go to the steeple-house but myself, and the report went about that the old Quaker would go to the church.

When first-day came, and the bells began to ring, the other two friends, viz. Thomas Lloyd, and Samuel Lloyd, came to me and said, We think we must go with thee to the steeple-house. When the people went to the steeple-house, I took my bible under my arm,

and went to justice Corbet's house, (that was but a few doors from my house) to let him see that I was going, and asked him, Whether he was coming! He said, He was not disposed to come that day, but he would send his man to see that we should not be affronted. So the two friends and I went to my own pew, that was opposite to the pulpit. There was but the curate to read the common-prayer, and their service to them that morning; there was a great multitude of people; some said, there were some that had not been at their church several years before. So nothing was laid upon us to speak to the people, till he had done. Then I stood up, and said to the people, I suppose you are not ignorant of the cause of our coming here this day, which was thus: the magistrates of the town came to our meeting, and they found us upon our knees praying to Almighty God. They were civil while we were at prayer, and when we had done, they took our names and committed us three to prison; most of the rest that were at the meeting were prisoners before. And the magistrates told us, If we would come to church, we should be discharged; and now you see we are come according to their desire. But I find that your priest is not here, and now I would have you to inform him, that I say

1. If he proves this to be the true church of Christ;
2. And that he is a true minister of Christ;
3. And that his maintenance is a gospel maintenance;
4. And this worship of yours to be the true worship of God;

Then we will be of your religion, and come again to you.

But if he proves not this, then we must conclude,

1. Your church to be a false church;
2. And he to be no true minister of Christ;
3. That his maintenance is no gospel maintenance;
4. That your worship is not the true worship of God.

All the people were very civil and orderly, and heard

me a considerable while in the steeple-house. When I had done, Thomas Lloyd spoke a few very seasonable words to the people. And the people said, if Mr. Langford (which was the priest's name) will not prove us to be the true church of Christ, and our worship to be the true worship, then we will pay him no more tithes, for what Richard Davies said he proved out of the bible; for you see, he had the bible in his hand all the while. So for that time we parted.

When the bells rang again for them to go to their evening service, it lay upon me to go there again, and the aforesaid friends went along with me; were the old high-priest was, who made a long sermon, till we were all uneasy; but I desired the friends to bear all things patiently. When the priest had done, he was going away; but I stepped up in my seat, and desired him to stay, for I had something to say to him; which was the same as aforesaid; when he heard my queries, and what I had to say, he turned his back and went away and gave us no answer. Then I said, Behold the hireling fleeth because he is an hireling. Some of the people staid, and some went with him, but all dissatisfied, that he would not prove them to be the true church of Christ, &c. I had a good opportunity to speak to the people more at large in the grave-yard; the Lord's presence, life and power was with us blessed be the name of the Lord for ever, who doth not forsake his people that trust in him.

When we came home justice Corbet sent for us again to him. He met us in his court, and said He was sorry that Mr Langford was so uncivil, that he did not answer our queries, which he thought were very reasonable. In a little time, many of the neighbours were gathered together in the street, and in his court, we had a good opportunity to reason with him, and to open to the people, and declare to them the way and means to obtain the kingdom of heaven: and he was so moderate, that one of the neighbours said to him, Mr. Corbet, we think you will be a quaker too. His an-

swer was, I wish I were a Quaker in my life and conversation. Towards the end of our discourse, he desired me to give him my queries in writing, that Mr. Langford might answer them; for, said he, it may be he was not prepared to answer you then, but he may answer them in writing. I told him that was but a private way of answering; but if he was not prepared then, I told him we would give him the meeting next first-day at the steeple-house, or in the town-hall upon a market-day. He said, it was very fair.

Counsellor Corbet was very friendly and loving to us, and did no more persecute us to his dying day; but did us all the good he could in all the courts of judicature where he was concerned.

As for this priest, William Langford, many friends were moved to go to him to the steeple-house in the time of his service, to declare to him and the people, what they had to say from the Lord: and when the magistrates have committed some of them to prison on that account, when their service was over, this priest hath got them to be released.

Some time after this, he sent the clerk of the parish to me for Easter-reckonings. I asked the clerk, whether his master did expect any thing of me, that had nothing from him; and bid him tell his master, I would come to reckon with him by and by. So the clerk went his way. And in a little time I made myself ready. When I went to him, there were a pretty many people with him. I told him, his clerk had been with me from him, for that which he called Easter-reckonings, and I was come to reckon with him, if he could make it appear that I owed him any thing, I would pay him, and I expected the same from him. He said, I owed him for several years for the sacrament. I asked him, what he meant by the word sacrament, for I found no such word in the scripture; he said, It meant the bread and wine which was used in the church. I told him, I received none of him, and therefore not liable to pay. He answered again, Why then you might come to

church and receive it. I told him, I did not believe that church was the true church of Christ: and I did not believe that he was a true minister of Christ, commissioned by him to break the bread, and give it to the people: much less to sell it, or take money for it of the people; for I did not read in all the scripture, that the true ministers of Christ did take money of the people for that bread they delivered unto them. He said then, That the labourer was worthy of his hire; and under the law it was said, "Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn." I told him, he trod out no corn for me; and though he was an hireling, yet I never hired him.

The people coming thick to pay him for the bread and wine, I asked him, how in conscience he could take so much money for so little bread and wine; it being, I suppose, about ten pence for man and wife. I asked him, what scripture he had for it; and desired him to prove his practice by scripture. He asked me, What scripture I had to eat flummery. I told him, I had scripture to eat it. Paul said to Timothy, "For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer," 1 Tim. iv. 4, 5. His communicants who were present, were much dissatisfied that he had no better answer and proof for his practice. So I desired the people to take notice, that he could not make it appear by scripture, that I owed him any thing; but I told them, that he owed me some money, and I desired him to pay it me, which he did. So we parted fairly. We have a saying, That even, or often reckonings make long friends. He was very friendly afterwards, and never sent to me more for Easter-reckonings. And as for the tithe, in time of harvest, he charged his servants to take from me no more than their due, nor so much. I was informed he should say, He knew not why he should take any thing from me, seeing I had nothing from him. He lived here among us many years, a good neighbour; and though

in the time of great persecution, yet he had no hand in persecuting any of us.

We have cause to bless the Lord, who carried us through all our services and exercises, in the time of our weakness; and though we were little and low in our own eyes, the Lord did not leave us: blessed be his holy name forever.

About the year 1663 or 1664, I went to London, and found some there separated from that love and unity, which I formerly saw them in; joining in that spirit with John Perrot, who was newly come from prison at Rome to London, as it was said, with much seeming humility and lowliness of mind. A considerable company joined together with him, where they had me among them for a little time. The tendency of that spirit was to speak evil of friends that bore the burden and heat of the day, and so to cry out against friends as dead and formal. They expected a more glorious dispensation, than had been yet known among friends; and they kept on their hats in time of prayer. I was but a little while among them, till a vail of darkness came over me, and under that vail, I came to have a light esteem for my dear and ancient friend George Fox, and some others, who had been near and dear to me. But it pleased the Lord to rend that vail of darkness, and cause the light of his countenance to shine again upon me; whereby I came to see the doleful place I was led into, by a spirit that tended to nothing else but self-exaltation, and (under a pretence of humility and self-denial) breach of that unity, love, and fellowship, that formerly we had together, and the good esteem we had one of another in the Lord. Children we were of one Father, esteeming one another above ourselves in the Lord. There was no jar or contention among us then, but all dwelt together in love and unity, and in the fellowship of that blessed gospel of peace, life and salvation.

At my return home from London, I was soon taken to the same prison with my friends in Welch-Pool; and

a little before I came among them to prison, the under-jailer dreamed, that he had in his fold a flock of sheep, and that he was wrestling to get in one ram among the sheep, but could not get him in; but when I came to prison, he said to my friend Charles Lloyd, Now I have got the old ram in among the sheep. But the jailer turned me out that night to my wife and family; and though I had the name of a prisoner, and was pre-munired, as the rest of my friends and brethren were for several years, yet I was not kept close prisoner.

This was a time when most travelling friends were taken up prisoners, and though I was a prisoner, yet it lay upon me to get liberty to go and visit friends, in several counties of England and Wales. So I followed my good guide, that shewed me what to do. I went to the jailer, and told him, I had an occasion to go out a little while, and I could not go without acquainting him of it, because I was his prisoner. He said, I warrant you will go to preach some where or other, and then you will be taken to prison; and what shall I do then, said he; I told him, that if I was taken prisoner, I would send to him where I was, and he might send for me if he pleased; so he bid me have a care of myself.

In a little time, in the love of God, I took my leave here of my friends and family, and committed myself to the protection of the Almighty. I went to Shrewsbury, and so to Worcestershire, where I had good service for the Lord; so to Tewkesbury, where I was never before. An ancient women friend followed my horse, and before I had put up at the inn, she was with me, and very cordially said, She had a sense upon her, that I was one of her heavenly Father's children. I went in and refreshed me a little, and asked her, whether she thought I might have a meeting with friends that evening. She readily said, She would acquaint friends of it. And after she had gone a little way out of the inn, she returned again, and desired to know my name, that she might acquaint friends of it. I was straightened in

myself to give her my name, though I knew not the cause then; but I desired her to go in the name of the Lord, and if I came in the name of the Lord, they would receive me. So she went, and came again, and told me, I might have a meeting, which was appointed to be at Susan Smithin's; and a blessed heavenly meeting we had, and the Lord gave to us our expected end. There were several professors at the meeting. Some came to me next morning, and discoursed friendly with me about the things of God.

From thence I went through Gloucestershire, where I had good meetings, and so to Bristol. When I was clear of Bristol, the Lord having blessed me, and preserved me so far in my journey, I set forwards towards Pembrokeshire. I travelled without any companion but the Lord alone, who was with me all along in my journey; he was my helper and preserver. So I came to the house of our friend Lewis Davies, who gladly received me in the Lord. Staying there some time, they lent me a horse to go to a meeting at Redstone, and I left my own horse behind me, thinking he might rest for some days after my hard riding. When I came to the place, the meeting was out of doors, there being no house, that I knew of, that could contain the multitude of people. When we came to the meeting, Meredith Edwards, whom friends judged unfit to preach the gospel, had the confidence to speak to the people till they were weary of him, and those that were sensible were burthened by him; after some time there stood up a friend and silenced him. I sat as a stranger among them. The Lord was with us, his good presence was our comfort and satisfaction; and after some time I had an opportunity to open to the people those things that belong to their eternal salvation; and having concluded the meeting in prayer, this man, M. Edwards, aforesaid, stood up again and preached to the people, and I turned my back and came away, and the friends, with most part of the people, followed me. As I was coming out, a friend came and told me, there were two

soldiers, (I understood afterwards they were the two sons of a priest) that had brought my horse there some miles. When I saw my horse, I drew nigh to them, and asked them, who brought my horse there; they asked me whether I was the man that came from Bristol; I said I was; then, said they, you are the man we look for. I asked them, by what authority they came, or what warrant they had; and they shewed me their swords and pistols. I told them, such warrants highwaymen had. Then I asked them, how they durst venture so, among such a company; they said, they knew we were peaceable men, and would not resist: otherwise they would have brought greater force. I told friends, we were not bound to obey them, and desired friends to part, and leave only two or three with me; but friends' love was so great to me, that they kept mostly in a body about me. So I desired the friend to take my saddle and bridle, that was upon the friend's horse that I rid to the meeting on, and put them upon my own horse; so I got upon my horse, and bid them lay their hands off my horse, for I feared not their swords nor pistols; but if they had a warrant from any justice of peace, or lawful magistrate within the county, I would obey it. Then they let my horse go, and I turned a little aside, and saw them lay hold of the other man, M. Edwards; I could not call him a friend, because he was not guided by a right spirit; and I turned myself to them again, and told them, that if any justice of the peace, or lawful magistrate within the county, had any thing to say to me that came from Bristol, he should hear of me at the house of William Batemen, in Haverford-west. I told them my business would require some stay in the country; so they let us go pretty friendly; and I had several brave meetings in Haverford-west, and other places in the county.

The last I had was at Pontchison among the Welch; they having notice of a Welchman coming to keep a meeting in those parts, many came to that meeting, and good service I had for the Lord, his truth being de-

clared in their own language to them. We had the meeting out of doors, and I stood with my back towards Thomas Simmon's wall of his house. I was young and strong, and my voice was heard to the steeple-house, and most of them came out to hear me;—and very few came out with the priest when he had done. When the priest saw such a multitude, he was moved to passion, and would have had the constable take me down. It was reported some said to the priest, they would not take me down, for I preached Christ and the gospel to them, and they would have him come and learn of me himself. I was informed, that the priest's wife and two of his daughters were at the meeting, and were very loving and tender, and came to be convinced of the truth. The Lord was not wanting to us; his life, power, and good presence was with us, and that meeting was the last I had in Pembrokeshire at that time. The friends of that county were very loving and careful of Friends, that came from far to visit them. They dwelt in love and unity among themselves. My service was weighty upon me, being myself only without a companion; the Lord alone, that knew the integrity of my heart, was my comfort, support, and exceeding great reward. As for M. Edwards, the two men before-mentioned, took him before a justice; the justice would have been moderate to him, and would have showed him kindness, but he, by his ungoverned temper, provoked the justice to passion, so that he committed him to the house of correction as a vagrant for three months, to the great trouble of friends.

I was informed that the justices and magistrates of that county, were generally very moderate in the hardest times of persecution. From Pontchison I took my leave of friends in Pembrokeshire, and came pretty directly home, blessed be the name of the Lord, to the comfort of my wife and family, and those friends that were prisoners; and the jailer was well satisfied that I came to my prison, without farther trouble to him; there were several taken prisoners, at those meetings I

was at, but the Lord preserved and delivered me, blessed be his holy name for ever.

I was but a little time at home, ere John Whitehouse, a follower of John Perrot, came and had a meeting at my house at Welch-Pool. I happened not to be at the beginning of the meeting, but came before it was concluded, and found he had sown an evil seed, and that some of our friends had received it; who soon after joined with that corrupt spirit, which led them to have a light esteem of their brethren, which was a great exercise to many honest friends, and especially to my wife and me; and we were ready to say, hath the Lord sent us here, to be instrumental for the gathering of a people in this country, and hath he suffered the enemy to scatter them in their imaginations. But some time after, the Lord satisfied me, that those who were simple-hearted among them, should be restored again into a more settled condition than they had formerly known; and I believed in the word of the Lord. And in time the Lord broke in among them, and opened the understandings of some of them, and they began to reason among themselves, and saw that they were in darkness; so that most of them were restored again into their first love, and lived and died faithful to truth, except Cadwalader Edwards, who continued in stubbornness and hardness of heart, and endeavoured to hurt such who were simple-hearted. I was moved to give forth a paper against him and all his vain imaginations. The following paper was likewise sent to him from friends:

"We whose names are here under-written, are those that thou hast been seeking to insinuate thy corrupt principles into; and also are those that testify against that seducing spirit that thou art gone into; and most of us do know the terror and judgment of the Lord, for receiving that spirit; and we do exhort all, that they touch not, nor taste of it, lest they be separated from the Lord and his people, and so come un-

der the judgment of the Lord, as we have done ; and we have all seen the hurtful effects of that spirit, and in the fear of the Lord we do deny the same, and them that be joined to it.

Charles Lloyd,	Watkin David,
Richard Evan,	William Lewis,
Owen Jones,	Evan Thomas,
Evan Davies,	Richard Davies,
John Reese,	Thomas Hammons,

Elizabeth Lloyd,	Sibil Jones,
Tace Davies,	Katherine Evans,
Ann Lawrence,	Ann Hall,
Katherine Jones,	Sarah Wilson."

1688. This being read in our monthly-meeting for worship, the Lord was pleased to afford us his sweet presence, and his power melted, tendered and mollified our hearts, and caused us to praise the Lord, for his great goodness and mercy to us, in bringing us out of that darkness that came over us, by giving heed unto the seducing spirit of John Perrot, John Whitehouse, and Cadwalader Edwards. And now the Lord having restored us again, we did praise his holy name for the same ; and friends were careful afterwards of receiving any spirit that might tend to the breach of love and unity among us. Many other friends brought in their testimonies against that spirit ; amongst the rest, one came from our friend Thomas Ellis, who had been particularly warned by me, in the fear of the Lord, not to touch nor meddle with the spirit, though it came with much seeming humility, lest he should suffer thereby ; which he did, to his great sorrow, and he set out in his paper, and said, This have I suffered for my mongrel moderation : but blessed be the Lord, he was sweetly restored again to his former love and integrity, to the great comfort of himself and brethren.

As to John Perrot, John Whitehouse, and Cadwalader Edwards,* they turned their backs upon God and his truth, and followed the devices of their own hearts and imaginations.

About this time, there being a meeting of friends gathered at Aberystwith, in Cardiganshire, most of them were sent to prison to Cardigan, and our friend, Thomas Ellis, was taken prisoner with them. Having the sufferings of these young convinced friends under consideration, I found much love in my heart towards them, even so as to go to the magistrates of the county, to offer myself a prisoner instead of my friend and brother Thomas Ellis, and some others, that they might go home to visit their families. I acquainted my wife of my exercise, which came pretty close to her; but she likewise in love, after a little consideration, gave me up for that service. So in a few days I took my journey, and went first to Thomas Ellis's house, to visit his wife and family, before I went farther, his house being about twenty-four miles from Welch-Pool, and not far out of my way towards Cardiganshire. There I very unexpectedly met T. Ellis himself at home; he told me they were all discharged out of prison. Thus I saw it was the good will and pleasure of my heavenly Father to accept of my free-will offering instead of the deed; and my friend T. Ellis and his wife were sensible of my love and kindness to them therein.

And now my service being farther for Pembroke-shire, T. Ellis was willing to accompany me in my journey, and we went to Aberystwith, to visit those friends there, where we had a pretty large meeting the first day in the morning, and there came one Thomas Price, brother to Sir Richard Price, of Gogorddan,

* He became afterwards very bad, and ungodly in his life and conversation, and died in the Fleet-prison, at London, being there for debt: yet near his end, he seemed to repent of his wicked life, and told some, 'That they who were preserved faithful among the people called Quakers, would be happy, and that they were the people of God.'

who took us all prisoners, and committed us to the town prison. That evening we had a meeting in the house where we were prisoners. Many of the town's people, some of them persons of account, were at the meeting that evening. I declared the word of the Lord to them in Welch, and shewed them the way to the kingdom of heaven. A sweet comfortable meeting we had, and great satisfaction it was to them that were there.

That night a weighty consideration came upon me, about those young convinced friends that were so lately discharged of their imprisonment, because they were like to go so quickly to prison again. So I asked counsel of the Lord, what we might do for, and in behalf of, these young and tender friends; and being under great exercise in my spirit, earnestly praying to God, that he might make some way for their enlargement that time, it came in my mind to write to the chief magistrate Sir Richard Price, and to give him an account of my journey so far, and that my friend T. Ellis and myself intending for Pembrokeshire, and resting with our friends, and having a meeting with them that day, were taken prisoners by his brother Thomas Price; and if it was his pleasure to send us to prison to Cardigan, that he would be so kind as to leave his neighbours at home, and accept of my friend Thomas Ellis and me, as prisoners instead of them all. To this effect I wrote to him, and sent it next morning; but he sent me no answer. But the high-constable came to us, and told us, we must all prepare to go to Cardigan town, where the county jail was kept. So friends freely and heartily prepared themselves to go. When the time of our going was come, they tenderly taking their leaves of their wives, children, and neighbours, (for some of their neighbours came a little way to see them out of town,) the constable stopped, and bid all go home, except Thomas Ellis and me; for it seems the high-constable had private orders not to go with them, but to do as I

desired in my letter. Thus the Lord did try those tender friends, and also delivered them.

The constable had instructions to bring us to the quarter-sessions, then held at Llanbedar, and not to Cardigan. When we came there, the justices being upon the bench, we were had before them; some of them were formerly acquainted with Thomas Ellis, he having been in authority, and according to his place, somewhat sharp against offenders. The justices were very moderate to him; but the clerk of the peace was very peevish and froward. I asked the justices, whether that man that questioned my friend, was a justice of the peace; they told me, he was not. Then I told them, we were not bound to answer him; but if they would give me leave, I would give them a just account of my business in that county, and upon what account we were sent there before them: and they desired me to speak on. I told them I was at my own house, with my wife and family, in Welch-Pool, in Montgomeryshire, and hearing that my friend Thomas Ellis, and other of my friends, were in prison in this county of Cardigan, for a considerable time, it was with me to come to the magistrates of this county, to offer myself a prisoner, that my friend Thomas Ellis, and the rest of them, might go for a little while to visit their families; in order thereunto, I came as far as my friend Thomas Ellis's house, where I found him at home with his wife and family; and they being discharged of their imprisonment, I had a farther concern upon me to go to Pembrokeshire; my friend Thomas Ellis, being not willing I should go alone, accompanied me. We came to Aberystwith, to rest there the first day of the week, and had a meeting with our friends, so were taken prisoners, and sent here to you, and now desire to know your pleasure. The justices answered, It was great love indeed, that caused me to come to offer myself a prisoner upon such an account; and they were sorry that Sir Richard Price gave us that trouble to send us there: and so they discharged us. And the court being silent,

I had an opportunity to declare the word of the Lord among them. Very still and attentive they were, as if I had been in a meeting. I commended their great moderation, and in the love of God we parted with them. The deputy-sheriff, and the high-constable that brought us there, came out of the court and treated us very civilly, and would have bestowed on us the best that the town could afford, but we were sparing of taking any thing of them. I was informed, that the deputy-sheriff and the high-constable were convinced, and very loving to friends all along. I know not of any that were imprisoned in that county afterwards. The Lord was with us, and he had a regard to the integrity of our hearts, and he alone pleaded our cause, and was with us in our services.

Then we took horse and left the town, and went towards Pembrokeshire, till we came to Cardigan, about twenty-four miles. We met with some hardship on the way, having little or no refreshment till we came here, where we had very good entertainment for ourselves and horses, and from thence we had a friend for our guide towards Pontchison in Pembrokeshire, but we were benighted, and it rained; our guide lost his way, and we wandered up and down among the peat or turf-pits, and other dangerous places, but the Lord preserved us out of them all. At length we came to Pontchison, but it being dark, we did not know the house where our friend, that we intended to go to, lived, but I spoke to our guide to see where the steeple-house door was, and he brought us to it; then I told them, the friends house was opposite to it, for I remembered when I had a meeting there, my back was against the wall of the house, and my face towards the steeple-house door. So we went forwards and found the house. I desired T. Ellis to call and tell them, that there were some friends that had lost their way, and desired to have lodging there that night. They being in bed, answered, they thought that no good friends were out at that time of night. T. Ellis reasoned a little with

them, but still they were not willing to rise and let us in. At last I called to the friend, whose name was Thomas Simmons, and to his wife, and desired them to rise and let us come in. He asked me, who was there? I told him in Welch, Richard Davies was there. What, said he, Richard Davies of Welch-Pool? I told them, I was the man. Thereupon the tender loving friends hastily came down and let us into their house, and we were satisfied in the love of God. This being the first journey that Thomas Ellis made to Pembrokeshire since he was convinced.

Hence we went to Haverfordwest, and so through all the meetings in that county, till we came to Pontchison again and had a meeting there, where there came many friends both Welch, and English, so that the house could not contain us, and we had the meeting out of doors in the street, and I declared the word of the Lord to them, both in Welch and English.

As we came to Pembrokeshire, we went to a Baptist's house, and the woman of the house being loving and tender, promised we should have a meeting among the Baptists there. We also appointed a meeting at Newcastle in Carmarthenshire; Peregrine Musgrave, James Lewis, and several other friends accompanied us to the meeting at Newcastle. The magistrates of the town were very civil and several of them came to the meeting. The weight and service of the meeting lay chiefly upon me; for though our friend T. Ellis was reckoned a deacon, and an eminent preacher among the independents, yet his mouth was but very little as yet opened by way of testimony among friends. He was an understanding man in the things of God, and was not hasty to offer his offering, till he found a very weighty concern on him. As I was declaring to the people in the Welch language, I stood opposite to a great window that opened to the street, and there was an evil-minded man in the street, that had a long fowling-piece, who put the mouth of it through the window and swore, that if I would speak another word, I was a dead man. But blessed be God, I was kept in

that which was above the fear of man, and the Lord kept me in dominion over all. There were two women sitting in the window and the mouth of the gun came between them both ; one of them seeing the gun turned her back upon it, and said in Welch, when the man threatened as before, I will die myself first. And there was one in the meeting went to this man, and took the gun away from him, and that wicked man came into the meeting, and was pretty quiet there ; the Lord's good presence was with us, a good meeting we had, and I may say, They that trust in the Lord, are as Mount Sion, that cannot be moved. And as it was said of old, As the hills were round about Jerusalem so is the Lord round about his people, to be a present help to them in every needful time.

Here Pembrokeshire friends and we parted, and it being somewhat late, the meeting having held long, we travelled all night over some doleful hills, intended to be at the Baptist meeting next day, which we had appointed, as before mentioned. It was by computation about twenty-four miles. In this time we had little refreshment for ourselves or horses ; but when we came there we had no meeting. The woman of the house said, that the magistrates had heard of it, and charged them, we should have no meeting there. So the slavish fear of man came over them. The woman seemed to be sorrowful, and would have given us some victuals, but I told her, we did not travel so hard, to come there for her meat and drink, but in the love of God, for the good of their souls.

So here my friend and companion, Thomas Ellis and I parted ; he went homewards, and I went that night to William ap Pugh's house, a poor friend, who had a considerable company of small children. I lay on a little staw, upon a hurdle of rods. When the morning appeared, I took a bit of a cake and a cup of clean water, and William ap Pugh and I took our journey towards Radnorshire, which was about twenty miles, mostly over great hills : and when I came there, I staid a little while among friends. Afterwards I hastened

home to my family, and when I was come there, Margaret Bowen brought my girl to me, and said, Here is a child the Lord hath given thee; she had been sick near unto death. When I was under my exercise in Pembrokeshire, one told me, my child was dead, and my wife not like to recover; which was matter of sorrow to me; and I turned a little aside from friends, and the Lord satisfied me, that neither my wife nor child were dead. When I came home they told me, my child had been as it were raised from death to life. Blessed be the Lord that restored her, and preserved my family, and we were comforted in the Lord.

After this journey I staid a considerable time at home with my family and friends, our meetings were pretty much supplied with friends especially from the north of England; though we were prisoners, yet we had our liberty to go to meetings abroad. We had a considerably large meeting at Cloddiecochion, (the place of my abode) near Welch-Pool; there were at our meeting John ap John, and James Adamson a north country friend; but the magistrates of Pool, it being in the limits of their corporation, came and broke up our meeting and took us prisoners. We old prisoners went to the county prison, and the rest to the corporation prison. I took my friend John ap John by the hand, and told him he must come to prison with me; so several of us went together, and when the hurry was over with them, they let us, who were old prisoners, go to prison alone. Then I discharged our friend John ap John, and told him, he should be my prisoner no longer. He staid a little while with us, and then went homewards. The jailer was friendly to us, and after a while I went to the magistrates, and got them all released that night, except James Adamson. The magistrates of the county gave strict charge, that if any north-country Quakers came that way, they should be secured; and I had a great care upon me, to get them discharged as soon as might be: for I knew there was a great concern upon them, for the churches of Christ wheresoever God sent them. So when I saw a convenient time, I went to the serjeant

of the town, and asked him by what authority he kept my friend there a prisoner ; and whether he had a commitment upon him : and he told me No. Then I desired him to let him come with me, and I would answer for him ; so the friend came to my house, and friends and I concluded together, to let him go to Shrewsbury, which was about twelve miles from Welch-Pool ; and I desired him to stay there till he should hear from me.

The assizes being there a few days after, the chief magistrate of Pool went, and I went also. And as my friend James Adamson and I were walking under the hall at Shrewsbury, we met the magistrate of Welch-Pool, to whom James was a prisoner. He seemed a little angry because I sent the prisoner away, and asked me, How I could answer it : for, said he, we sent to the Lord Herbert of Cherbury, for a commitment upon him. I told him, they had kept him too long without a commitment, which they could not legally answer. Now he knew not that the prisoner was with me, so I asked him after some discourse, what he would give me for a sight of the prisoner ; he considered, and asked me, whether the man that was with me was not his prisoner ? I told him he was, for I knew he was then out of his liberty. So he said to the friend, Your friend hath done you and me a kindness ; and I see, if there had been occasion, you would have come back again ; so he parted very friendly with us.

In these times the oath of allegiance and supremacy was tendered to most friends that came into the county, if they were taken, and such were committed to prison, for not taking it, till the next assizes, and then *premunured* ; and then little hopes of their being released from their imprisonment ; and it came to be a saying, that when any Quakers were taken prisoners in Montgomeryshire, there would be no end to their imprisonment.

About the year 1669, my ancient, well-beloved, and dear companion, John ap John, and I, took our journey for South-Wales, to visit our friends and brethren in

those parts. We went first into Radnorshire, where we had several good meetings. We gave timely notice before-hand, where we appointed the meetings, and several friends and other people came from Herefordshire to meet us at the lower end of the county of Radnor, where we had a sweet living meeting, and the power of the Lord tendered the hearts of many. We declared the word of the Lord both in Welch and English. My friend John ap John was very sound and intelligible in the Welch language. He deserved the right hand of fellowship, for he was my elder, and the first friend that I heard declare in a meeting in the English tongue; and though he was not perfect in that language, yet he had the tongue of the learned, to such who were spiritual. When that meeting was ended in Radnorshire, we both withdrew a little aside from friends, being bowed before the Lord, in a sense of his goodness amongst us. After a little while I turned my face towards the friends, and saw a man coming towards me with much brokenness and tears; and when he came to me, he took me in his arms and held me there. I was very tender of him, though I knew him not. He asked me, whether I did not know him; I told him I did not; though I said, I could remember something of him. He said, he had cause to remember me. When I looked upon him again, I asked him, whether he was not Roger Prichard; he said, he was the man that had gone astray. And I was glad, yea, very glad, that the lost sheep was found, and that he came to know the true shepherd and his voice in himself, and he followed him; and went not astray again, as he did before. He accompanied us to several meetings in that county, and in Monmouthshire. As we were parting with him, John ap John told him, he had come far out of his way with us. He answered, we had put him in his right way again, and he hoped he should keep in it.

We went through Monmouthshire, and Glamorganshire, visiting friends. We had a good meeting at Scil-

ly, and at Swanzey in Glamorganshire ; where we met with some French Britons. We could understand something of their language. We found they were passionate among themselves.

From thence we passed to Carmarthenshire. We had a meeting at Cardiff, and lodged at John Mayo's ; his wife Elizabeth was a nursing mother to friends in the beginning. At Cardiff, John ap John suffered great persecution, and in other parts of that country, before I was convinced ; I suppose he might be prisoner there in 1653, or 1654.

We went thence towards Pembrokeshire, where we had several good meetings, and the Lord was with us. Then we came homewards ; and before we parted with Roger Prichard, we appointed a meeting at his house, which was in Almeley-Wooton. The Lord helped us on in our journey, and we came there according to the time appointed, and a large, sweet, comfortable meeting we had ; I know not that any meeting had been there before. I appointed another meeting to be there ; and in a few weeks after my return home, I went accordingly. The concern of that part of the county of Herefordshire was much upon me, and I was often there ; and when the people of that village saw me come, they would say one to another, Come, let us go to Mr. Prichard's, for we shall have prayers there to-night ; and the house hath been soon near full of people. A comfortable time we used to have together, and many were gathered to the Lord in those parts. As for Roger Prichard, the Lord blessed him in his basket and in his store, and his heart and house were open to friends, and he built a fine meeting-house at his own charge, and also gave a burying-place, and settled both upon friends for that service, and lived and died in love and favour with God, and in unity with his brethren. " Say to the righteous, It shall go well with them."

About this time I was pretty much at home, and the enemy and adversary of the growth and prosperity of truth in these parts, stirred up an informer against us,

one John David, alias Pugh, a weaver, a tenant to the jailer. We had our meeting in an upper room in the prison, and the said informer dwelt below. Once as he was coming by my barns where my cattle were, he said to some of my neighbours, 'These cattle are all mine. They asked him, how they were his; he said, Richard Davies had preached three times this day, and that by the laws there is 60*l.* on the preacher for the same. By this it was noised abroad in the town, that I was like to be undone. My neighbours seemed to be concerned, and one of the aldermen, a relation of mine, came chidingly to me, and asked me, whether I had a mind to ruin my wife and family; could I not leave my preaching, when I knew the laws were so severe against us. I told him, I could not, when the Lord required it of me. I desired him to let the informer alone, and let him take his course. He said, he would not; but, said he, I will tell thee what I will do: I will take him along with me to Severn-side, and whet my knife very sharp, and I will cut off one of the rogue's ears; and if ever he informs against thee again, I will cut off the other. I earnestly desired him to let him alone; but he and his neighbours were so enraged against him, that I was afraid they would have done him some mischief.

This informer was a weaver by trade, and the neighbours took their work away from him, so that his children went soon after a begging, many of the town telling them, their father had got a new rich trade in hand, and that they need not give them any thing. So the poor children suffered very much; but my wife did not withhold her hand of charity from them.

One time I had my boots on, ready to go out, the jailer, this informer's landlord, seeing him come up the street towards my house, I being in the street, he said to the informer, *Mr. Informer*, you see Richard Davies is going out to preach somewhere to-day, I advise you to look diligently after your business, and find him out. If you will not inform against him, I will inform against

you. You have got a good trade in hand, and if you do this great service for the king, you must needs have either Dolebran, or Coedcowrid, for your pains. The one was the mansion-house and the other the jointure-house that belonged to my friend Charles Lloyd, and his ancestors. Thus the jailer jeered him, and the poor informer travelled great part of that day, from one friend's house to another, to see for me, till he came to Dolobran, where we were met upon church affairs. As we were coming from the meeting, I met him at the door, and discoursed a little with him. He told us, that he was going for a warrant against us to Edward Lord Herbert. I felt the power of God was over him, and truth reigned among us. He went to the said lord, and desired a warrant against the Quakers. Lord Herbert asked him, What did the Quakers do? he said they preached. He queried of him, Where did they preach? He told him, they preached at his house, which was their prison. Lord Herbert answered, Let them preach there as long as they will, what have I to say to them? But the informer told him, they met at Cloddiecochion. He asked him, whether those there were not prisoners; he answered they were. Then said Lord Herbert, What do they do at Cloddiecochion? Do they preach there? He said, No; their way was to sit down, and to look one upon another. He answered, Thou art but a fool; the Quakers are a loving people; they went to visit their children, and to eat bread and cheese with them.

So Lord Herbert took his cane, and went from him with his gentleman to walk in his park. The informer followed them, and spoke again to him, and said, Will you be pleased to grant me a warrant against the Quakers; He asked him, who sent him there for a warrant? He said, D. Davies. (This was the priest of Welch-Pool, a quiet man, and no persecutor.) Lord Herbert asked him again, whether he had a letter from him; the informer said, No, he thought his word might be sufficient to get a warrant against the Quakers. Upon

this, Lord Herbert, with indignation, it is thought, would have spoiled him, had not his gentleman interposed. He said to him, Is it not sufficient to put my peaceable neighbours in prison? Must I give a warrant to make such a rogue as this is rich, by ruining them and their families? So the informer returned home; and as I was going by his house, he desired me to walk in for he had something to say to me. I went in with him, and he said to me, I am sorry I did you so much wrong, for I intended much evil against you. I was put on to be an informer, which proved to be mine and my children's ruin; for my neighbours took their work from me, and when my children went to their doors, they would scarce give them any thing to relieve them. And now I desire you to pray to God to forgive me; and I pray you to forgive me also; for I think most of our bishops are Papists, and there is no trust to be put in them. I desired him to have a care what he said, and not lay the fault there; for it was the enemy, the adversary, the devil, that begot that covetous mind in him, against his peaceable neighbours. I desired the Lord to forgive him; and as for me and my friends, we would forgive him; and I desired him to go his way, and to do so no more. So he never informed against us afterwards.

Thus the Lord helped and preserved us through great hardships and difficulties. There was nothing taken from us at this time, upon this informer's account.

About the year 1675, we heard there was a severe persecution by informers in Merionethshire, especially in Penllyn, near Bala; in which time our meetings did increase there, and many people came to them. A concern lay upon my friend Charles Lloyd and me to visit those meetings, where we had a meeting on the first day of the week at Cadwalader Thomas's called Wern-fawr. There was abundance of people, more than the house could hold. Two informers came in, and staid all the meeting-time; and after Charles Lloyd and I had cleared ourselves by way of testimony, the

people's understandings were very much opened in the things of God, and the way to his kingdom, in the Welch language, in which I concluded the meeting, the Lord owning of us with his great power and presence to our great comfort, and the satisfaction of the auditory. The two informers kneeled upon their knees with us, while I was at prayer, and one of them, called Robert Evans, did exceedingly tremble; and when I had concluded the meeting, the said Robert Evans took a paper out of his pocket, and stood before us with much trembling and shaking, and could say nothing to us, but *a warrant, a warrant, a warrant*. Friends stood quiet in the possession of that life and power that God had blessed them withal that day, and we said nothing to him, nor he to us, which was almost an amazement to the spectators; for he was a spiteful envious man, that had done much spoil upon friends in those parts. At last I asked him, what he had there; he told me, he had a warrant. I desired him to let us see it. He was not willing we should see it; but said, if we would come a little farther on our way, we should see it. We told friends, we were not bound to follow him, and desired friends to depart to their own habitations. But our loving tender-hearted friends would not part with us. Charles Lloyd and I had a great mind to see what the tenor of the warrant was, and who the justices were that did sign it. So we went along with him to the house where he said we should see it; but the man of the house not being within, he was still loth we should see it. We told him, he should have it safe again, and at last he let us see it: and we saw that colonel Price of Rhiwlas, and colonel Salisbury of Rûg, had granted it. We went that night to John Thomas of Llaethgwn, and were concerned to go and visit these justices. In the first place we went to see whether we could speak with Price of Rhiwlas, to lay the sufferings of friends, that were his neighbours and tenants, before him, for many of them were his tenants; but we could not see him, though we heard he was at home. Thence

we went to Rûg, where this colonel Salisbury lived; and we enquired before we came to the house whether he was at home; some told us he was: but when we came there, they perceived we were those people called Quakers, by our habit and language, and he being conscious to himself what he had done, and what spoil was made upon friends' goods, would not admit us to speak with him. We desired one of his servants to acquaint him, that we had come a great way to visit our suffering friends in that country; and my friend Charles Lloyd bid him tell him who he was; for it seems he was his relation, and old school-fellow. From thence we went to John ap John's at Wrexham in Denbighshire, and visited friends there; and then came home to our families, where we found all things well; and the Lord was with us in our journey.

Some time after this it lay upon me to go and visit friends in London. I went to see the lord Powis and his lady who dwelt then at London, they were my particular friends; and acquainted them with the sufferings of our friends in Merionethshire, by informers upon the late act. They asked me, Which way they might be helpful to friends; I told them, If they would be pleased to get a few lines from their brother the duke of Beaufort, then lord-president of Wales, to colonel Price of Rhiwlas, I did not question but that would moderate them very much: for the said colonel was not in the main a persecutor, but was put on by some peevish clergyman, so called. In a little time they got his letter for me, with his own seal thereon, but not sealed up; the tenor of it was thus: Sir, I have stopped the complaint of his Majesty's subjects, called Quakers, from coming before the council-board, concerning the severe prosecution of the penal laws against them. So when I had this letter, I made what haste I could down into the country, and gave it to a friend and relation of colonel Price's who delivered it into his own hand. It had good effect; the Lord was pleased thereby to stop the rage and ruin that was intended against friends in

that county. The justices of the peace called the informer to an account for what he had done to, and taken from friends, but he could not make up his account. The moderate justices followed him so close, in behalf of the king, that he was near ruined and undone thereby. So it pleased God that himself fell into the snare and evil that he intended against his neighbours.

Some time afterwards, one Price, priest of Llanvawr, in Merionethshire, was severe against friends for tithes, and some friends came down to me to Welch-Pool with an account thereof. I considered his proceeding upon a *quo minus* from the exchequer, and caused an attorney to appear for the friends, and he, in a few terms, brought me a writ of charges against the priest. When I had it, I was in a great strait what to do with it; for I knew if the priest was taken upon it, it would exasperate him against friends. I sent for some of these friends to be at our quarterly-meeting at Dolobran, which they belonged to. I told them what my judgment was in the matter; and that though there was a writ of costs obtained against the priest, yet it was not expedient to have it executed. I told them, I thought it would be more convenient for them to take the writ, shew it to the deputy-sheriff, and tell him the whole case; but to take care that the writ should not be left with him; which was well-approved of, and the friends did accordingly, and kept the writ. The deputy-sheriff knew that would be for the advantage of friends, and was ready to do what he could for them. So he blazed it abroad that the Quakers had got a writ against the priest, and the poor priest was afraid of coming to the steeple-house for several days to perform his service, till he employed somebody to come to friends to make an end of the matter; and I never heard that he troubled friends again for tithes while he was there.

About that time that I was at London to visit friends, there sprung up a new informer, whose name was Da-

vid Maurice; he lived at a place called Pen-y-bont, in Denbighshire, and was newly made a justice of the peace of the county of Montgomery. He that recommended him was informed that he was a sober man, and not given to persecution; but soon after he had his commission, he appeared to be a great persecutor, not only of our friends, but of other dissenters also.

The said David Maurice, upon the 7th day of the first month, called March, 1674-5, came into a meeting at Cloddiecochion, with about fourteen or fifteen persons, most of them armed, where a small number of our friends were waiting in silence upon the Lord. He requesting us to depart, our friend Thomas Lloyd requested of him a quarter of an hour's time before our being dispersed, which he readily granted, and he with his followers sat amongst us. Thomas Lloyd uttered a few words, by way of defining the true religion, and what the true worship was; all which David Maurice approved of as sound, and according to the doctrine of the church of England; yet notwithstanding, he fined T. Lloyd 20*l.* for preaching, though he was no magistrate of the corporation, and he fined the house 20*l.* and 5*s.* a-piece for the hearers. And on the 16th of the fourth month, 1675, he caused to be driven from Thomas Lloyd four cows and a mare, all worth about 16*l.* by two of his servants, one of them being his clerk, and the other his tenant, and no officer of the corporation, nor of the parish, nor of that allotment of the hundred, in place with them. These were lurking near the ground about two hours before day, and drove away the cattle before sun-rise, and they were brought out of the county into his own domains.

The same day, about the dawning thereof, the said drivers, by a warrant from the said David Maurice, rudely broke through a neighbour's fields, to the grounds of Thomas Lewis, of Cloddiecochion, and drove from him six cows, two oxen, and two heifers; alleging for his offence, that the said T. Lewis suffered a meeting to be at his house, though the said David Maurice

was at that meeting himself, and not only allowed of at the time, but approved what was spoken there.

About the same time Charles Lloyd, of Dolobran, had ten young beasts taken from him by John Jones of Golynog, an attorney at law, who was that year overseer of the poor of the parish of Myvod, together with the petty constable, &c. upon a warrant from the said David Maurice, the only informer and busy justice upon this mercenary act in our borders, for preaching at Cloddiecochion, within the liberties of Welch-Pool, the 14th of the first month, 1674-5, though the said Charles Lloyd was not at that place that day, nor many days before or after, at any meeting. David Jones of Branyard, for being a bearer at the said meeting at Cloddiecochion, had a brass pan, for his own proper fines, taken from him, and one cow for the pretended inability of others convicted, upon a warrant from the said David Maurice, of Pen-y-bont. But nothing was taken from me, though my family was at the meeting, and I lived within the limits of the corporation.

I being at this time in London, and my service there pretty much in the time of the said hard persecution, my dear friend Charles Lloyd sent me up a full and large account of the sufferings of friends there, by this wicked informer David Maurice; and when I had read and considered them, I was under a great consideration, what way to take to prevent the farther intended mischief of this man; and I laid their innocent and faithful sufferings in secret before the great God of heaven, who hath the hearts of all men in his hand, and may order them as seemeth good to him.

After this, when the time of the quarter-sessions was come, the clerk of the peace told the court, he had received the new commissions; which being read, and this D. Maurice being then present, and finding himself left out, he fell into a great rage and passion.

In a little time the said D. Maurice went to London, and was put into commission again; but being made high-sheriff of the county this year, he could not act as

a justice of the peace ; so he fell into a great rage, for that the said office was like to be chargeable to him. So that year we had peace and quietness ; and when his sheriffship was over, he was coming through a brook called Lynlleth, near his own house at Pen-y-bont, and it was supposed his horse threw him, and he was carried down into the river Tannat a considerable way, and there miserably perished. Thus the Lord helped us through all our afflictions and troubles ; and we see that they that trust in the Lord shall not be confounded, but are as Mount Sion, and cannot be removed ; and as the hills be round about Jerusalem, so is the Lord round about his people ; blessed and praised be his holy name for ever and evermore, saith my soul.

In the latter end of the year 1674, I went to visit my ancient dear friend George Fox, who was a prisoner in Worcester ; I passed through Herefordshire, and had some meetings there. I staid with my friend George Fox for some time. He told me how he was taken prisoner, and that he was indicted for refusing the oath of allegiance ; that he had been twice removed by habeas corpus to London ; that he had his trial there, and no error being found in his indictment, he was returned back again to his prison at Worcester. As he was opening his case to me, I thought there might be sufficient errors found in his indictment to get him discharged. I told him of a counsellor, Thomas Corbet, a friend of mine, then in London, who was very excellent in finding out errors ; so after some consideration, he sent next post for an habeas corpus, which came down in a little time, and the sheriff was served with it ; so we set forward, G. Fox went in the coach with the sheriff and clerk of the peace of Worcester, and I rode on my horse along with the coach, and no other friend with us.

We came to London the 8th of the twelfth month, and when we came there, several friends much admired that he should be removed up again ; for he was

something private in the matter. He desired the friends, who had the management of the business before, to let me have a copy of the record, which was pretty difficult to be had; for several thought it was to little or no purpose; but G. Fox was not satisfied till I had it. I had acquainted counsellor Corbet of the whole case, as far as I could understand it, before I could see a copy of the record; and about the tenth hour in the night, William Mead came with me to counsellor Corbet with it. When he had read it, he said, There were several material errors in it; which put W. Mead to a consideration how that could be; and he desired the counsellor to shew him one error. The counsellor shewed him several errors. W. Mead seemed to wonder that such great errors could not have been found out by other counsel.

The next morning, being the 11th of the twelfth month, we went to court, where some other counsellors moved first on G. Fox's behalf, and they were pretty close upon some things, but they knew not of any errors in the indictment. All this while counsellor Corbet was silent. Counsellor Walcott was against G. Fox, and fearing lest they should find some errors in the indictment, he moved, that the oath should be tendered again to G. Fox. Upon which counsellor Corbet stood up and moved, that there was no imprisonment in case of *premunire*. Whereupon the chief justice Hales said, Mr. Corbet, you should have come sooner, at the beginning of the term, with that plea. He answered, We could not get a copy of the return, and of the indictment. The judge replied, You should have told us, and we would have forced them to have made a return sooner. Then said judge Wild, Mr. Corbet, you go upon general terms; and if it be so as you say, we have committed many errors at the Old-Bailey, and in other courts. Corbet was positive, that by law they could not imprison upon a *premunire*. The judge said, There is summons in the statute. Yes, said Corbet, but summons is not imprisonment; for

summons is in order to a trial. Well, said the judge, we must have time to look in our books, and consult the statutes: so the hearing was put off till the next day. As we were going out of Westminster hall, some friends were much troubled, that the Welch counsellor should start such a plea, contrary to the opinion of the judges, and all the counsellors; and some of them said, they thought G. Fox would have been discharged, if the counsellor had not put in that plea. But honest plain G. Fox said, he had a fine trial, and was cheerful in his spirit. I desired friends to have a little patience, for I thought the Welch counsellor would stand upon his own legs. So I went to the hall again, and staid for counsellor Corbet till the court was up; and when I found him, I told him, he had started that which many thought he could not make good; and if so, it would be a reflection upon me and the Welch counsellor, as they called him. He desired me to bring him that evening another copy of the record, besides what he had. So I got one, and went with it to him; and he writ in the margin something in French, and gave it me again, and desired me to go with it to Thomas Rudyard, who was an attorney in London, for G. Fox, and desired him to deliver it that night to judge Hales, and he would take the other himself to judge Wild; and then he thought there would be little discourse of that matter more: and so it happened. For,

The next day they chose rather to let that plea fall, and begin with the errors of the indictment; and when they came to be opened, they were so many and so gross, that the judges were all of opinion the indictment was quashed and void, and that G. Fox ought to have his liberty. Upon which proclamation was made, that if any had any thing to say against George Fox, let them come forth and they shall be heard, otherwise he is discharged. And so he was set at liberty.

Counsellor Corbet, who pleaded this cause, got great fame by it; for many of the lawyers told him, he had brought that to light, which had not been known be-

fore, as to the not imprisoning upon a *premunire*. And after the trial, a judge said to him, You have attained a great deal of honour by pleading George Fox's cause so in court.

As we were coming out of the court, I had an opportunity to speak to some of London, and to blame them for their unbelief; because they could not believe that any good could come from that plea. I was then of a mind, and still am, that the hand of the Lord was in it, more than the wit and cunning of man; for that trial put an end to all the *premunires* in the nation. Our friends, in this county of Montgomery, were most of us under a sentence of *premunire* for many years. Our friend Charles Lloyd was not suffered to see his own house for several years, although it was but five miles from Welch-Pool, where he was kept a prisoner. And as for myself, I had the name of being a prisoner on the same account for about seven years, but was not kept close prisoner in all that time, but had my freedom and liberty to be at London, and in other places of the nation, as my service was, and as the Lord made way for me. In this time I visited friends pretty much in their sufferings.

So, "good is the Lord, and good is his word, and worthy is he to be praised by all that know him, from henceforth and for ever."

1677. Some years after this trial of G. Fox at London, counsellor Walcott, who was a counsellor against him, was made judge of three counties in North-Wales, viz. Merionethshire, Carnarvonshire, and Anglesey. He began his circuit in Bala, in Merionethshire. He caused several friends to be brought before him, and tendered them the oath of allegiance and supremacy. He did not intend to proceed against them by *premunire*, but said, The refusal of those oaths was high-treason, and he would proceed against them upon that statute for their lives the next assizes; threatening that the men should be hanged, and the women burned. He was a wicked, hard-hearted man, and intended

much mischief to friends, if the Lord had not prevented him. So friends of that county acquainted us here of the whole proceedings in that affair. It being the time that the parliament was sitting, friends concluded, that our friend Thomas Lloyd should go up to London immediately, and we desired him to advise with counsellor Corbet, what to do in the matter, who was then in London. When counsellor Corbet heard of the business, he was much concerned, for he was very well acquainted with this Walcott, and said, By that way they might try us all, if Popery came up again; for they have, said he, the writ *De Haretico Comburendo* in force, which was executed in queen Mary's days, for the burning of heretics, which was not repealed to this day. So counsellor Corbet and Thomas Lloyd went to the parliament-house, and acquainted several parliament-men of it, and that session it was repealed; and judge Walcott was spoken to in London, and our friends were no farther prosecuted, but had their liberty; and, blessed be the Lord, friends had great peace and quietness in that county for a considerable time afterwards. In a few years judge Walcott died, so there was an end of that persecutor.

In the year 1677, our friend John Burnyeat came to give us a visit in Wales, and had a meeting at Machynlleth, in Montgomeryshire, where appeared an informer, Oliver Maurice, of Drain Llwddion, in Merionethshire, and caused a disturbance, and went afterwards to William Pugh, of Mathafern, near Machynlleth, a justice of the peace for this county, (he was one of them that had his commission when D. Maurice was turned out, as before related, page 103,) who granted him a warrant; and himself, together with his bailiff and a constable, meeting John Burnyeat and Thomas Ellis upon the road, stopped them, and seized their horses, with their saddles and bridles, so that they were constrained to travel on foot. J. Burnyeat's mare died within an hour and a half after seizure, and Thomas Ellis's horse died in the informer's hands in half a year's

time ; in which time also a distemper infected most of his cattle, whereby he suffered very great loss : the said justice likewise fined several other friends at the same time, though they lived in another county. Thomas Ellis despatched a messenger to me at Welch-Pool, being about twenty-two miles. The next day the Lord Powis being at home at his castle of Powis, I went to him, and acquainted him thereof, and he was very sorry. I desired of him, that he would grant me that favour to make use of his name, that he had heard such and such things concerning the beforesaid justice. Not only so, said he, but let Mr. Edmund Lloyd (this was a neighbouring justice, and no persecutor) write to him and tell him that I am angry with him for such proceedings. So I went to my friend, that other justice, and got him to write a few lines to the said W. Pugh. So he wrote effectually to him, and I sent it away by night ; by which means the rest of the fines were stopped. But John Burnyeat's mare was dead, as before related.

Some time after, there was in this county of Montgomeryshire, one Hughes, a priest, in the parish of Hirnant, where lived a friend, an honest man, whose name was John Rhydderch, who could not pay tithe for conscience sake. This priest brought several actions against him out of the county-court for tithe ; the sheriff's bailiffs drove away several of his cattle, for judgment had out of the county-court. Our friend being well acquainted with the deputy-sheriff, acquainted him of the errors of the proceedings in the county-court ; and the sheriff ordered the bailiffs to return the friend his cattle again ; so the priest was in a great fret that he lost all that charge. After that, he ordered the friend to be sued at Ludlow court, which was for the marches of Wales. This court was a great yoke and bondage to friends in this dominion ; for all answers were to be given upon oath in that court, which friends could not do for conscience-sake. This priest followed the friend with one contempt after another, till it came to a *writ of rebel-*

A

lion. We let him go on as far as he could go, till the friend was ready to be taken; our attorney gave us an account of it, and I desired the friend to go to a friend's house in Shropshire, which was out of the jurisdiction of that court, and stay there till he should hear from me. I sent to London to John Lloyd, brother to Charles Lloyd of Dolobran, who belonged to the chancery-office, and he sent me down a *prohibition*, and I sent to serve the priest and his attorney with it. The priest fell into a very great rage, and his attorney came to him for seven pounds charge that he laid out for him, but the priest would not pay him; so the attorney sued him, and got judgment against him, so that the poor priest could not go to perform his wonted service for some time. Soon after which the priest died, and I know not whether the attorney had one penny of his money; and that friend was never troubled after on account of that suit.

Our friend Charles Lloyd, of Dolobran, was sued for tithe at the great assizes held for this county of Montgomery, by the earl of Castlemain, impropiator, and Randal Davies, vicar of Myvod, the parish that our friend Charles Lloyd lived in; we were satisfied it was a court of record, and they might sue for treble damage for not paying tithe; so we concluded to go with a copy of their declaration to counsellor Corbet, who lived then at Welch-Pool, and when he read it he said he would demur to it. I asked him, whether he could demur in case of tithes? He said, he would maintain a demurrer to that declaration. So when the court sate, he acquainted the judge, that he would demur to that declaration. The judge said, Demur in the case of tithe? Yes, in this case, said he. The judge asked him, whether he would demur special or general? Corbet said, when we join in demurrer you may know. So they joined in demurrer; and when it came to be urged, he shewed his cause of demurrer. So the judge and the court were convinced of the error; and they paid cost, and mended the declaration, and next assizes they ob-

tained judgment upon *Nihil dicit*. So Charles Lloyd's cattle were driven for treble damage; but the priest was so perplexed, and put to charge and trouble, that I do not know he ever sued any friend for tithe again.

After this I went to London to the yearly-meeting, and continued there some time, in and about the city, and so came leisurely down through several meetings, visiting friends. A while after I came home, Thomas Ellis and James Halliday came to our town; I told James, it was well done of him to give us a visit in these parts of Wales. They said, they came to visit us against their wills. I asked them, whether they were prisoners; they said, they were: and soon after came other friends with them. I took them along with me to my house to refresh themselves. They told me, James Halliday came from London to South-Wales, intending to take shipping there for Ireland, to be at the half-year's meeting; but the wind proving contrary, he was necessitated to come for North-Wales to Holyhead, and having a meeting in this county near Llanydlos, they were taken prisoners and fined by Evan Glyn, a justice of the peace, and sent here. I was very much concerned for James Halliday, that he should be stopped in these parts, and hindered of his service. So next morning about two of the clock, I took horse and went to this justice's father-in-law, justice Devereux, and found him at a village three miles from Welch-Pool. He asked me, what was the matter; I told him, that his son-in-law Glyn had committed some of our friends to prison to Welch-Pool, and fined them also; and I told him, I thought by the law, that no man was to suffer twice for the same supposed transgression. He gave his son-in-law hard language, and desired me to see some way to get them off. I went to a neighbouring justice, and got James Halliday a discharge, and brought it with me that morning; so we hastened him away with a guide towards Holyhead, and I was informed he had a good and quick passage, and got in time to the half-year's meeting in Ireland, as he intended.

For Thomas Ellis and the rest of the friends, the jailer took our words, that they should be forthcoming at the next quarter-sessions, at which time Charles Lloyd and myself attended the court, and went to the clerk of the peace, and desired him to call our friends first, which he did. The friends being all at the bar, no prosecutor appearing against them, (justice Glyn being not then come to town), they were soon discharged, without demanding any fees; and after friends had refreshed themselves in town, they went homewards, some of them towards Radnorshire, and those that went towards Llanydlos, met justice Glyn, who had committed them, going towards the quarter sessions. He spoke to them, and they told him they were discharged. He seemed not to be sorry for it, for he was not a persecutor in the bottom, but was put on by a peevish, proud, informing priest, and I know not that ever he did the like again.

I went to London to the yearly meeting in 1681. Persecution was very severe upon friends in the city, and elsewhere in those parts; at which meeting it lay upon my mind to move for a yearly-meeting in Wales, and after some consideration about it, it was left to friends in Wales to appoint their first yearly-meeting, as in the wisdom of God they should see meet, at their half-year's meeting, held at Swanzey the 28th of the seventh month. An account of which my friend Thomas Ellis sent me to London, as followeth:

“ Dear Friend, R. DAVIES,

“ IN the love of God is my remembrance of thee at this time, with many others of the like minded, in and about the city, and especially those who from the beginning have been and still are most exercised under the glorious weight of the care and concerns of the church of Christ; the remembrance of whom hath divers times, and especially of late, as at this present, wrought both eyes to tears, and hearts to tenderness. Although I was disappointed in my expectations of

seeing thee here, at this half-year's meeting, yet thy letter to John ap John, coming so seasonably, did so answer for thee, that it was both joy and refreshment to many of us. We had a full meeting of friends from most parts of Wales; many having come upon the account of the yearly meeting, which was concluded to be at Haverford-west, the second day of the week, called Easter-week, for the following year. Here were R. Edwards, John ap John, W. Players, Francis Lea, Philip Leonard, and Richard Walter, who had testimonies, and many other friends besides from other remote parts, all zealous for the yearly meeting. We had meetings here the three last days—

Thy Friend and Brother,

THOMAS ELLIS.

Swansey, the 28th of the seventh Month, 1681.

About the year 1680, or 1681, came Dr. William Lloyd, late of Martin's, in London, to be bishop of this diocess, called St. Asaph. Persecution was very sharp and severe in several places about this time, upon account of excommunication, and the statute of 20th, a month. But this new bishop thought to take a more mild way to work, by summoning all sorts of Dissenters to discourse with him, and seek to persuade them to turn to the church of England. Among the rest, when he came to Welch-Pool, in his visitation, he sent for us. Charles Lloyd, Thomas Lloyd, and myself, sought to speak with him, but I was that day bound for London, so could not, but my friends stayed till they had an opportunity with him; and my friend Charles Lloyd gave me an account afterwards of what passed between them, which was to this effect:

That the bishop was much displeased that I was absent; and when he was told of my urgent occasion to go, and my stay on purpose some time to see him, he said, his business was greater, whatever my business was. That day they discoursed with him, his chaplains, and other clergy, so called, from about two in

the afternoon till two in the morning. Afterwards they discoursed with him two days at Llanvilling. The first day from about two in the afternoon till night ; and the next day, from about ten in the morning till an hour in the night, publicly in the town-hall. The first day at Pool, our friends Charles Lloyd and Thomas Lloyd gave their reasons of separation. In none of the three days would the bishop and his clergy defend their own principles, or refute ours ; but only held the three days on the general principles of Christendom, and the apostles examples of water-baptism, and once a small touch at the bread and wine. Thomas Lloyd held, the last day, our reasons why we separated from the church of England ; which were,

1. Because their worship was not a gospel worship.
2. Because their ministry was no gospel ministry.
3. Because their ordinances were no gospel ordinances.

But they would not join with him to prove any of them, though often solicited thereunto ; friends being sufferers must submit to all disadvantages ; for they had not any notice before-hand of what matters they should argue till they came to the place of dispute, and the last day they forced Thomas Lloyd to about twenty-eight syllogisms, all written down as they disputed, to be answered extempore ; and the bishop said, he did not expect so much could be said by any on that subject, on so little warning. And he said, that he expected not to find so much civility from the Quakers ; he highly commended Thomas Lloyd, and our friends came off with them very well. They had also much discourse with the chancellor, and one Henry Dodwell, and with the dean of Bangor, afterwards bishop of Hereford, very learned men, who were also at the said dispute, with many of the clergy of the diocess, with some justices of the peace, deputy-lieutenants of the county, and a great concourse of people in the town-hall aforesaid, in Llanvilling. Several of the clergy, with whom I afterwards discoursed, seemed not well satisfied with

that dispute; for they said, they thought the validity of water-baptism was much weakened thereby; and several noted men that were present said, they thought there could not have been so much said against water baptism as had been said there. It was agreed by consent of all parties concerned, that the dispute should not be printed.

I staid a pretty while in London; and when the Lord made way for me, I took my leave of the city friends, letting them understand that I was preparing homewards, intending for my prison, upon the writ *De Excommunicato Capiendo*, that was out against me and our friends, and other dissenters in this diocess called St. Asaph. A little time before I came out of the city, there came two or three grave citizens, I suppose of the independent congregation, and told me, they were come to let me know that there was a writ *De Excommunicato Capiendo*, out against me, and there was one of their friends already in prison on the same writ in our county, and if I would contribute with them, they said, they knew how to make it void. I told them, I knew that there was a writ out against me; and I did also know there was a friend of theirs, one Richard Trollus, in prison in Welch-Pool on that writ. I told them, I thought they might make the writ void, but I would contribute nothing towards it; for I told them, I would hasten home as soon as I could, and go to prison if required. They said, they were satisfied I had other reasons why I would not make the writ void, and desired me to be free with them, and tell them my reasons. I told them, I thought they might make that writ void with a great deal of charges; but, said I, how will you prevent the bishop from coming on again with another writ which you cannot make void? If there be any error in their proceedings in this, no doubt but the bishop and chancellor will mend it in the next. And whether do you think it is better for me to go to prison on a false writ, or on a writ that you can find no error in? I said, if I go to prison on this erro-

neous writ, and the sheriff or jailer gives me my liberty, the bishop or the chancellor cannot justly sue them. These men went away well satisfied with the reasons I gave them, and I know of no money they spent to make the writ void.

I acquainted my friend William Penn, and some friends, that I intended to give bishop Lloyd a visit before I went to prison, if the Lord pleased to make way for me. So my friend W. Penn, the morning before I came out of the city, sent me a letter from the lord Hyde to the bishop, with his coat of arms on it unsealed. I took my journey and the Lord brought me safe home, to the comfort of my family and friends, who were afraid I had been detained from coming home,

The next morning I set out to see the bishop without interruption; though the sheriff, George Mercer, was very envious to friends, yet I escaped his hands at this time. I went to my friend Tho. Wynne's who lived in Caerwys in Flintshire, not far from the bishop's palace, and he went with me. When we came there, the bishop's secretary came to the gate. I asked him whether the bishop was within; he said, he was; and asked me, Who would speak with him? I told him, that Richard Davies would speak with him. What, said he, of Welch-Pool? Yes, said I. What, said the secretary, my lord bishop! Bishop, as it signifies an overseer, said I, I own; but lord bishop I deny. So the bishop sent for us in, and there were several clergymen with him, among the rest the dean of Bangor, before mentioned. The bishop seemed to be dissatisfied that I was not with them at the dispute at Llanvilling; we went soon to dispute about water-baptism; I told them, There was one Lord, one faith, and one baptism; and that baptism was necessary to salvation; and that water-baptism, which was John's baptism, was to continue and remain but for a season. So this, and such like discourse, held us till it was late at night; and then I went to my friend's house with an order to be there again in the morning. I came in the morning, and

we disputed upon the same subject. I said, if one should grant what they desired, viz. that water baptism was necessary to salvation, which I would not, where should they have an administrator, seeing St. Paul says expressly, "He was not sent to baptize, but to preach the gospel;" and thanked God, that he baptized none, except such and such? 1 Cor. i. 14—17. And Peter, who baptized many, came so to see the invalidity of water-baptism that he said, "By baptism we are saved, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, (outward water could do no farther) but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ," 1 Pet. iii. 21. They went from this to their ordination. I put them to prove who sent them to baptize. The dean told me, such an one ordained him; and so named from one to another. I told him I thought I should send him to Rome for their succession and ordination. They said, Yes, the ordination might be good, though it came from Rome. He brought a comparison; as suppose a malefactor was condemned to die, and a reprieve was obtained, and it came down by the hangman's hand; and though it came so, yet, said he, the pardon was good. Then said I, your ordination comes not by the spirit and power of God. This return made them somewhat uneasy; and the time being far spent, I was willing to be discharged, having been there part of three days.

I told the bishop of good old David, who said, Psal. xxvi. 6, "I will wash my hands in innocency, so will I compass thy altar, O God; that I may publish with the voice of thanksgiving and tell of all thy wondrous works." Then I said to the bishop, 'Thou canst not say thou wilt wash thine hands in innocency, nor compass the altar of God, while thy writs remain against so many innocent people, willing to suffer till death, for the testimony of their consciences towards God. And I said, Bishop Lloyd, if I go to prison upon this account, I shall have more peace there than thou shalt have in thy palace. I also said, Suppose another prince should

arise that would impose something upon thee that thou couldst not do for conscience-sake, what wouldst thou do? He said, Then I will go to Pennsylvania also : for at that time many friends were about going there. Then it came clearly to me, and I said to the bishop, Though thy head be grey, yet thou mayst live to see liberty of conscience in England; though, as to outward appearance, it seemed to be very far from it at that time.

The bishop called for pen and ink, and said, he would write to the chancellor for my liberty; but I told him, I was not satisfied for myself to be at liberty, and my friends in prison. So he wrote to the chancellor, to suspend the execution of the writ. When he had done, he read the letter to me, and I owned his kindness to us all therein. Then I took Lord Hide's letter out of my pocket, and gave it him. When he saw the superscription, and knew from whence it was, he asked me, How I came by it; I told him, As I was coming out of London, intending for prison, a friend of mine brought me that letter the same morning that I left the city. When he had read it, he said, he hoped I was satisfied that he had granted me the contents of that letter. I told him it was so, and I hoped he would have reward for his well-doing.

Then I was dismissed, had leave to come home, and brought a letter to John Edwards, chancellor, a peevish man against friends, who lived at Llanymynech, about eight miles from Welch-Pool. When he received the letter, he did according to the bishop's order, and those friends in the diocess, that were concerned therein, were not molested nor troubled on that account any more; and the friends that were in prison before, were discharged. We have great cause to bless and praise the Lord for all his mercies, kindnesses, and deliverances to us; for hitherto he hath been our Eben-ezer; that is, "the Lord hath helped us," 1 Sam. vii. 12.

In the beginning of the year 1682, my dear friend Charles Lloyd and I went to visit friends in Hereford-

shire, Worcestershire, &c. and came through their meetings to London, before the yearly meeting. I acquainted my friends George Whitehead and W. Penn, that I intended to go to Lord Hide, to acknowledge his kindness for his letter, on my behalf, to bishop Lloyd. George Whitehead said, there was some service to be done for our suffering friends in Bristol, and it was thought convenient that three of the city, and three of the country, should go with the said sufferings, and desire the kindness of Lord Hide to present them to the king. The three friends for the country were Charles Lloyd, Thomas Wynne, and myself; for the city, George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, and one more. Our friend George Whitehead told me, that our countryman Sir Lionel Jenkin, secretary of state, was so cross and ill-humoured, that when the king was inclined to moderation and tenderness to suffering friends, he often stopped and hindered the relief intended them. When we went to Whitehall, we waited a long time before we could speak with them, they being upon a committee a considerable time; but we had sent in by the door-keeper, to acquaint Lord Hide that we were there; and in time they sent for us in. The secretary looked upon us. I went to Lord Hide, and acknowledged his kindness for his letter on my behalf to the bishop. He told me that I should tell the bishop, there would be liberty of conscience in England. I told him, I did say so; and did believe it would be so in God's time. Secretary Jenkin spoke in a scornful manner, and asked me, What was Welch for a Quaker; I answered him, Crynwr, Crynwyr; it being the singular and plural number. But the secretary said, We had no Welch for it, for there were no Quakers in the Romans' days. My friend Charles Lloyd answered, If thou didst ask my friend the question aright, he hath answered thee right; for there is English, Welch, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, for a Quaker. So the secretary said, Sir, I understand Welch pretty well, and English, and Latin, and Greek; but if you go to

your Hebrew, I know not what to say to you. I left my friend C. Lloyd to engage with his peevish countryman, and presented Lord Hide with a long list of the names of men, women, and children, in their several prisons at Bristol. I desired him to be so kind as to present their sufferings to the king, which he said he would; and our friend George Whitehead spoke farther to him. Then I turned to the secretary, who directed his words to me, and spoke to him thus in Welch:

“Mae yn ddrwg gennif, fod vn o Hiliogaeth yr hen Frittaniaid; yr rhai ydderbyniodd y Grefydd Gristianogol yn gyntaf yd Loeger; yn erbyn yr rhai sydd gwedi derbyn y wir Gristianogol Grefydd yr awr hon.”

The English is thus:

“I am sorry that one of the stock of the ancient Britons, who first received the Christian faith in England, should be against those who have received the true Christian faith in this day.”

He replied, He was not against our friends; but, he said, our friends gave their votes for the election of parliament men that were against the king's interest. I told him, It was our birth-right, as we were freeholders and burgesses, to elect men qualified to serve both the king and country; but how they were corrupted when they came within these walls, I knew not. The secretary would have engaged farther with me in a dispute about religion. I told him, he was an ancient man, and that they had been a long time there upon their business, and if he would be pleased to dismiss us then, and appoint what time we should some morning wait upon him, we would, if he pleased, spend an hour or two with him in discourse about religion. Upon which he took off his hat, and thanked me kindly for my civility; but we heard no more of him about the dispute. Upon the whole, our friend G. Whitehead told me he was more moderate to friends afterwards, than he had been before. The number of prisoners in the list delivered to Lord Hide, to be presented to the king, amounted to in both prisons, one hundred and thirty-

nine; of which there were eighteen aged women, from sixty and upwards, and eight children. In the latter end of the list it was said, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

I had my several exercises this year, 1682, in London, both from false brethren and otherwise. Once I was at the Bull-and-Mouth meeting, and there were in the gallery several troublesome people, and none of our ministering brethren in true unity with us, but George Whitehead and William Gibson. The gallery being pretty full, one of them seemed to strive to keep me out, and our friends G. Whitehead and W. Gibson perceiving it, made way for me to come up to them; another of them had been speaking long in the meeting, and had made many weary of him. I was under great concern in my spirit for the honour and exaltation of the name of the Lord and his truth, and the ease of many that were under weights and burdens; yet, for quietness-sake, I silently bore the weight and exercise that was upon me, till he had done. Then my mouth was opened in the name and power of God, who had compassion on his afflicted seed, and caused the light and life of his countenance to overshadow the meeting, to the comfort and great satisfaction of the faithful.

I was made to detect the false doctrine, which one of them had delivered to the people, viz. That the children of God are destroyed for want of knowledge. I told the people, that the children of God in these days, were the children of the new covenant; and the covenant that he makes with them is, that "They shall all know him, from the least to the greatest; and the true knowledge of God to his people in these days, is life eternal," John xvii. 3. Though Israel of old were destroyed for want of knowledge, because they forgot the God of their fathers, that brought them out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage, inasmuch that the Lord complained of them, and said, "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's

crib, but my people know not me," Isa. i. 3. And elsewhere it is said, "They have forgotten me days without number." These were those apostates that the Lord complained, Jer. ii. 13, had committed two evils; they had "forsaken him, the fountain of living waters, and hewed themselves out cisterns, broken cisterns, that could hold no water." These were such as the apostle said, "When they knew God they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. For this cause God gave them up unto vile affections and a reprobate mind," Rom. i. 26. And the apostates in our days, said I, have forgot the God that first made them acquainted in measure with him; so having lost the sense of his goodness, have separated themselves from the love and unity of the brethren; but the children of God, who are faithful to the measure of the grace of God in themselves, know it to be their teacher and leader into all truth. These are not destroyed for want of knowledge, though the world know him not. There are apostates in our age, who have lost the true knowledge of him; but the saints in light have, and remain in, the true knowledge of him, being guided by the spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him; "but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you," John xiv. 17.

When I had thus eased my spirit, a concern came upon our friend and brother, George Whitehead, and he sweetly concluded the meeting in prayer.

After this I was pretty well cleared of the city, and was willing to draw homewards. Next first-day I came to Jordan's in Buckinghamshire, where we had a blessed meeting; then I had one at Chesham; from thence I went to Robert Jones's near Tring. Thence I went to the quarterly-meeting at Weston-Turfield, not far from Aylesbury, where it opened in me, to advise friends to keep to those rules and methods agreed on among us in our men's and women's

meetings. As I was declaring, came in an opposite party; however I went on, and shewed them, how it was agreed among the apostles to send chosen men, endued with the Holy Ghost, to set up good order and method among them. I delivered unto them that it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us also, to set up our men's and women's meetings that the care and concern of the church of Christ might be upon holy, self-denying men and women, who might take care of the fatherless and widows in their afflictions and keep themselves unspotted from the world; which the apostle James says, "is pure religion, and undefiled before God," Jam. i. 27. And that the care of all, both poor, strangers, and prisoners in affliction might be carefully and tenderly looked after, and supplied according to their necessities; and that the ministers of Christ in his day, might take the counsel of the apostle, who said, Acts xx. 28, "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood."

When I had ended what I had to say from the Lord among friends, one of the party stood up, and spoke something by way of reflection, upon what I then delivered. When he had done, our friend Thomas Ellwood proposed to the meeting, that all should sit down, and wait to feel the power of God among us, and let that decide whether I did speak in the name and power of God among them this day; to which the meeting agreed, and all were silent. After which several friends, as they were moved by the Lord, gave tenderly their testimony, that what was delivered that day, was in the name and power of God, and that his presence was with us; as honest Robert Jones, and Richard Baker, who loved the Lord and his blessed truth with all their hearts, and several others present in that meeting. There stood up a young man that I knew not, whose heart was affected, and much broken in spirit, and said on this wise: There is a man con

this day amongst us, I know not from whence he came, nor where he goes; but this I am satisfied, the Lord sent him here, and his power and presence is with him, and his testimony for the God of truth. I enquired afterwards who that young man was; they said he was one John Thornton. Upon this one of the party broke in violently and disorderly against what had been agreed upon among us before the meeting had fully cleared themselves, and finished their testimonies; but it proved greatly to his dishonour and disgrace, so that he was made manifest to those that adhered to him. The meeting held from about ten in the morning, till (as they thought) ten or eleven at night. But blessed be the Lord, that doth not leave his people without a witness to himself: and he is the preserver and defender of all his people that wait upon him. They that trust in him are as Mount Sion, that cannot be moved.

After this I made what haste I could home, taking meetings in my way; at Banbury, and the country about, and part of Worcestershire. So, blessed be the Lord, I came safe home to my wife and friends, where I found all things well; blessed be his name for ever.

In the year 1683, I went again to London, to the yearly meeting, and staid there some time, after most of the country friends were gone out of the city. I was engaged one first-day for Westminster meeting, and there was no ministering friends present but myself. Several weighty matters opened in me at that meeting, as, concerning the church of Christ, what it was, and on what it was built. I said, some be of the judgment that the church of Christ is built upon Peter; and I opened to the understanding of the people, something of what is written in the 16th chapter of Matthew. I shewed them, that which revealed unto Peter, "that Christ was the Son of God," was a manifestation of the Spirit of God in Peter, for it is said, Matt. xi. 27, "No man knoweth the Son but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whom

soever the Son will reveal him." God revealed unto Peter, that Christ was the Son of God; and he is the only rock that his church is built upon, the rock of ages, the foundation of many generations, that the gates of hell never prevailed against. But the gates of hell prevailed against Peter, when he denied his Lord and Master in the time of his sufferings; and therefore he was not like to be the rock which Christ built his Church on. It is said, 1 Cor. x. 4, "For they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ." So Christ is the sure foundation that his Church is built upon. Peter saith, 1 Pet. ii. 5, &c., "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God; by Jesus Christ." And in verse 8, he acknowledged Christ to be the Rock. Paul saith, 1 Tim. iii. 15, that "The house of God, the church of the living God, is the pillar and ground of the truth." This, said I, may inform the blind and ignorant of this age, that lime and stone, and temples that are made with hands, are not, as they say, the church of Christ, and the house of God; "for God dwelleth not in temples made with hands," as saith the prophet Isaiah, lxvi. 1, and the martyr Stephen, Acts vii. 48. Thus I was concerned to declare the truth in that meeting, with much more to the same effect. After meeting I went with some friends towards the city; and as we were coming along the Strand, the queen was going from her chapel, and some of her life-guard were very rude, and with the staves they had in their hands, they did knock and beat friends that had their hats on, all along as they came. I received a blow upon my head, so that it swelled, and was sore for a considerable time. But blessed be the Lord, in all our exercises and afflictions, his life, power, and presence bore us up in the midst of them all: praises be to his pure and holy name for ever.

Before I came out of London, we met with more exercises and troubles. One first-day in the morning, I

was not well, and could not go to the meeting, nor scarcely get out of my bed; but when the time of our afternoon meeting came, it lay upon me to go to the Bull-and-Mouth; and I told Job Bolton, with whom I lodged, that I must go to the said meeting. He reasoned with me; but I told him I would go so far as I could; and he said he would go with me. As we went through the passage to go in, I heard a voice that I was satisfied was not the voice of a true shepherd, the meeting being already gathered, and many people there. When I went up to the gallery, one was preaching of perfection, who said, "Be ye perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect," &c. I staid to hear him but a very little while, till I stood up and judged him, and told the people, that the kingdom of God stood not in words, but in power, righteousness and holiness. Then this man went in a rage out of the meeting, and a considerable company followed him; and a friend or two went after them as far as Fleet Street, to see where they were going; and one of the company saw the friend, and desired him not to follow them too close, lest they should do him a diskindness. We heard afterwards, there was a wager laid that this man, who some said was a Jesuit, would preach in the Quakers' meeting, and that he should not be discovered; and had he gone without reproof, they would say, that a Jesuit preached in the Quaker's meeting, and they could not discern him. But it was reported in many places in the city, that he was detected in the Quakers' meeting, and he could not abide there. We have cause to bless the Lord for his goodness to his people, that gives them a discerning spirit to judge between good and evil, and between those that serve God in truth and righteousness, and all deceitful hypocrites, who are to be judged and condemned by the word of his power.

In the beginning of the year 1685, king Charles died, and king James came to the throne, and the statute of 20*l.* per month for absenting from the public worship, which I suppose was made against the Papists in queen

Elizabeth's days, had been and was very much put in force against our friends, whereby many of them were almost ruined; the sheriffs and their bailiffs persecuted them so severely, and did make such a prey of them, that some worth many hundreds, were made so destitute, they had scarcely a bed to lie upon, but were robbed of all. When king James came to be settled upon the throne, our dear friend G. Whitehead, who always was much concerned for the sufferings of friends up and down in the nation, and who did not spare himself to visit kings and parliaments, and all others, where he thought he could get relief for his suffering brethren, went to king James, and laid the present condition of suffering friends before him. After some consideration, the king told him, that what concerned him, or came to him of those fines, he very freely and readily would remit. Upon which an order was granted, to suspend the rigour of their persecutions. But it seems, when it came out, the Roman Catholics took the advantage of it to themselves; which was some surprise to friends who had laboured in that service. George Whitehead hearing I was in the city, came to me, and told me the whole business, and understanding that I had interest with the earl of Powis, who was great with the king, he thought it might be of service if I would go along with him to the earl.

Next morning my friend G. Whitehead and I went to the earl of Powis' in Lincoln's-inn-fields. When he understood I was come in, he very soon came to me; and when I had ended my country business with him, I told him I wanted a little of his advice, in a case wherein our friends were great sufferers by a law that was made against them, and that we were severely whipped upon their backs by the statute of 20*l.* per month, for not coming to hear that which is called divine service. I told him that a friend of ours had waited upon the king, and had told him the whole state of things, and that the king was very ready to relieve us in what he could, and that an order was granted to that purpose; but it seemed his friends had

taken the benefit of it, and excluded us, &c. I desired his advice, whether we should proceed farther in it or no: he answered, By all means; for, said he, I will tell you, that there was taken from our friends in Lancashire, 8000*l.* upon this statute, and the king and myself went to see how much of this money came into the exchequer. When we saw it, it appeared, that the king was in debt to that account about 28*l.* and all the rest gone. I desired him, seeing it was his advice that we should go on, and not be discouraged, that he would be pleased to grant that a friend of mine might come in and speak with him, who was more able to give him an account of this business than myself, and who had been with the king to get relief in this matter; for G. Whitehead staid all this while in an adjacent room; so he bid me bring him up to him. When George came, he opened the matter fully to him. When he thoroughly understood the matter, he soon got himself ready, called for his coach, and bid me come to him at an appointed time; and he brought an absolute order from the king, to stop all proceedings by sheriffs and bailiffs upon that account in the nation. In a short time the rage, envy, and cruelty of such devouring men were stopt, and I know not that any have been troubled or suffered since upon that statute. Blessed be God, that hears the cries of the poor, fatherless, and widows, and sends relief to the afflicted in his own due time. I must say, that the earl of Powis and his countess were very ready and willing at all times to do our friends any kindness that lay in their way, and to help them out of their troubles and afflictions; and I am apt to believe they did it conscientiously, for there were many of our friends in several of their lordships here-aways, and the earl never suffered any of us to be fined for not appearing in any of his courts upon juries, or any other way or manner.

In the year 1688, it seemed good to king James to publish a declaration for liberty of conscience, and ordered the bishops to send it to their several dioceses, that it might be read. Seven of them would not read

it, Bishop Lloyd aforesaid was one of them, therefore they were committed to the tower. Then I remembered that which I spoke to the bishop at his palace in the year 1681, when I queried of him, What if another prince should arise, that would impose something upon him that he could not do for conscience-sake? And that year when at London, I went to visit him in his troubles; and he said to me, I often thought of your words, and I could wish I were in Pennsylvania now myself. He told me the reason why they could not read the declaration, saying it was arbitrary, and not according to law, and that it was a matter of conscience to them; and others were to have their liberty by it, besides Protestant Dissenters. He told me also, that they were put on to do those things which they had done against dissenters; but when I told him of it before, he could not believe it, till it came thus upon them. I had acquainted him formerly, that I had read a sermon that was preached to prove the church of Rome to be a false church; because she was a persecuting church; and now, said I, the members of the church of Rome puts you on, not only to persecute upon the penal laws that were made against dissenters, but by those laws also that were made against Popish recusants; and by the same argument may we and they say, the church of England is a false church, because it is a persecuting church. The bishop said, they did not consider nor know it then as they did now. I took my leave of him, and he kindly acknowledged my visit; and after some time they were released.

Afterwards the bishop came to Welch-Pool, in the assize week, and in the evening sent for me to the high-sheriff's house; there being with them most of the justices and deputy lieutenants of the county, with many of the clergy, who were very civil to me. The bishop told them that he had sent for me, and that he was more beholden to me than all the men in the diocese, for I came to visit him in his troubles; and he desired of them to do me all the kindness they could, and he

would take it as done to himself. When supper was over, the bishop and the high sheriff, Edward Vaughan, of Llangedwin, took me into a private room with them, and we discoursed a little about the times. There was some report of the coming in of the Prince of Orange, and in a little time I had an account that the prince was landed, which was great satisfaction to the bishop; for he said some prosecuted him very close for his life. And when the Prince of Orange was made king of England, &c. and liberty of conscience was established by law, he and others were well satisfied with it.

And now I think it worthy to take notice of the several kindnesses, upon account of our suffering friends, I received from this bishop Lloyd, in his several dioceses; for as we record the hard-heartedness and cruelty we have found from unmerciful persecuting bishops and clergy, and how many they have made poor widows and fatherless, I think it is justice and equity in us to record all the mercy, tenderness, and compassion, we find from those that are conscientious and charitable among them. For instance:

Bishop Lloyd being at a visitation in Llanvilling, in this county of Montgomery, four peevish men, churchwardens of Welch Pool, did intend to prosecute my son-in-law, Jacob Endon, for not paying towards the repairs of their worship house; I went with my son-in-law, and waited on the bishop, and told him the case; he very quickly called the church wardens, and told them there was an act of parliament ordering a more easy way, and with less charge, to recover by distress, than to drive to excommunications. He inquired for the act, which I gave him; and he turned to that clause, read it to the wardens, saying that he himself drew that clause in the act, and told them how they ought to go to the justices for a warrant; but, said he, Why will you go to the charge of a warrant? Cannot you go and take a pewter dish, or some other thing near the value? I warrant they will never sue you for it; for, said he, we must do unto them, as we would be done unto, if we

were in their condition : so he quickly dispatched them. Then I told him, I was come moreover in the behalf of a prisoner on the same account, whose name was Richard Davies, near Ruabon, in Denbighshire ; and he advised me to go to the chancellor, Dr. Wynne, whom I should find, he said, a very fair man ; so he called him to us, and left us together ; and I took my leave of the bishop, acknowledging his kindness. When I had fully discoursed the chancellor about the prisoner, I found him very fair ; and in a little time after, I heard my friend R. Davies was discharged ; and several kindnesses I had of the chancellor since. When the said wardens came home, they reported what favour I had with the bishop, and were troubled thereat ; but neither myself nor son-in-law were ever after troubled about those repairs of their worship-house.

Another time when I was going to London, and visiting friends in my way, I called at Timothy Burberough's, at Aino on the Hill, in Northamptonshire, where I understood he was gone to prison. I inquired the cause of his imprisonment, and his wife told me the priest of the parish had left their small tithes, and other tithes, till he thought they amounted to a considerable value ; and then he came and took away near all that they had, and sent him to Northampton jail, where he had been for some time. I took a memorandum of it, and when I went to London, I thought of the affliction and exercise of my poor brother. My old friend bishop Lloyd being then at London, I went to his lodgings at Whitehall, and I must say, he was very ready to come to me. After some discourse, I laid the distressed case of my friend T. Burberough before him. He answered, he did not know what to do in it, the priest of Aino was a stranger to him, and out of his diocess. I told him, if he would be pleased to write a few lines to the bishop of Peterborough, for it was in that diocess, I said, he might peradventure write a few lines to the priest of Aino, to be more moderate and conscientious, in not taking more than the value of that which he called

his due, and casting the poor man from his family into prison also. The case I left with the bishop, and he took care to send it to the bishop of Peterborough, who sent it to the priest of Aino; and bishop Lloyd sent the priest's answer, with a letter from the bishop of Peterborough to himself, in a letter of his to me near Welch-Pool; which I took as a great kindness and favour from him.

Not long after this I went to London again, and called at my friend T. Burberough's, where I found him at home, being released; he told me the priest had sent an order for him to come home; and that he came to reason and discourse with him. It seems he was not so unkind as he had been formerly.

In the year 1700 there was a considerable suffering on friends in Worcestershire, an account of which was given me by my friend Edward Bourne of Worcester, who desired me to use my interest with bishop Lloyd for the relief of John Fowler, and his mother-in-law, the widow Banbury, who was a prisoner for tithe in the out county prison in Worcester, and he sent me their whole case. When I understood it, I found a concern upon me to make what haste I could to the bishop, who was then at his palace at Hartlebury, a few miles from Bewdley. I considered also what a great sufferer our friend William Sankey had been by one Vernon, a cruel ungodly priest of the parish he lived in, who had cast him into prison, when he had five or six small children, and his wife lately dead. He several times took from him more than treble the value of his pretended due for tithe. From Bewdley I went to William Sankey's, and told him I was to go to the bishop, and desired him to go with me. In the morning we went together. I inquired for the bishop's secretary, Francis Evans, who very lovingly came to us, brought us in, and said he would acquaint his lord that I was there; and in a little time the bishop came to us. And after some discourse I told the bishop, I was not only come to give him a visit, but I was come purposely

from home in behalf of some friends of mine, who suffered for tithes in that country : and that I was informed there had been three committed to Worcester jail by one Kerry, the priest of Tredington, and that two of them were released, and the third remains a prisoner. Released, said he, how are they released ? I told him, by the hand of their great Creator. It seems then, said he, they are dead ; and the same man, said I, doth prosecute the widow of one of them, viz. William Banbury, and hath already put her into your court, for that which her husband suffered and died for ; and we reckon, that in common law, when the prisoner dies in prison, the prosecution ceases. I do not know, said he, but the debt may be paid, but the charges are not ; and I know not what to do with that man, for I hear he is a very covetous man, and I have no power over him but once in three years. I was lately in my visitation there, and had I known this then, I might have done your friends some kindness. I said, if thou wilt be so kind as to write a few lines to him and let him know what complaint is made to thee of him, and how thou art informed that two of the three which he sent to prison are dead ; I do not question but it might stop his rage and severe prosecution against the poor widow, if not be a means to release the other prisoner. So he bid his secretary take notice of it, and put him in mind to write to him. Then I told him of the sufferings of William Sankey, who was there present, and desired him to give my friend leave to open the case himself to him, which he did ; and when he told how cruel the said Vernon had been to him in casting him into jail, his wife being dead, and left five or six small children ; and he told him, that he had taken from him goods worth about 12*l.* for about 3*l.* or 4*l.* demand for tithe ; and about 12*l.* or 14*l.* worth of sheep, for the like demand at another time ; and several other cruelties he had done him by this unconscionable Vernon. The bishop taking it into consideration, caused his secretary to draw an order for him to come there with his accounts, that was due to

him from W. Sankey, and what he had taken from W. Sankey towards that account; and he gave the order to William Sankey, to deliver to the priest, and desired William to be there the day appointed, with the priest. I was informed the priest went the day before to the bishop, and W. Sankey went the day appointed; and I was informed that the bishop should say, there was no help for what was past, but he would take care he should do so no more to William Sankey. I heard since that time he hath taken it in kind from him, with more moderation than before, and that the bishop was kind to W. Sankey ever since.

John Fowler, one of three before mentioned, (Robert Grimes and W. Banbury being dead) was discharged, and as for the widow Banbury's case, who was severely prosecuted by the priest, intending to get it to an excommunication, that was stopped, and she was troubled no more.

Before I parted with the bishop, I told him, there was a friend of ours, William Catril, that kept school at Worcester, who was persecuted very close by some, for keeping school without a licence, and they did intend to bring him under an *Excommunicato capiendo*, and if he was not pleased to be kind to him, they would put him to all the charge and trouble they could. The bishop bid his secretary take care about it. So all that I requested of the bishop at that time was friendly and kindly granted me, and care was taken that they were not troubled nor molested on these accounts. Then the bishop ordered us to dine there that day, and we parted friendly and lovingly with him; and he desired me, when I came that way, not to be strange to him. From thence I went to Worcester, and gave friends an account of my success with the bishop, I staid with them a little while, and then went to Bromyard, and had a meeting there. So I went through part of Herefordshire to Leominster, and I can bless and praise the name of the Lord, who was with me all along on my journey, and brought me safe home to my

wife and family ; and when I gave them an account of my journey, they praised the Lord with me, who had been my preserver and defender.

In a little time after, I went to London, and being at the meeting about friends' sufferings, there was mentioned the sufferings of friends in Lancaster castle by the dean and chapter of Worcester, and they had been there for several years, though friends had made interest to get them off, and friends at Worcester used their interest with the chancellor, who seemed to be very kind to them ; yet for all that they could not have them discharged. When I came from London I went to the bishop at Worcester. He was very free with me, and in a little time the chancellor came to us, and the bishop gave me to understand who he was. I told them I was glad to see them both together, and said, when I was lately in London we had the sufferings of our friends in Lancashire before us, for a small matter of tithe, alledged to belong to the dean and chapter of Worcester ; and I told the bishop that I thought the chancellor was not a stranger to it, for I had heard he had been often solicited on their behalf. The chancellor told him, he did understand it, and that these men were there for a small inconsiderable matter ; and said he was sorry that those men died in Worcester, because in conscience they could not pay that little tithe to the priest of Tredington, and he was afraid these men would die there also, except some way was found out for their release. The bishop asked how long they had been there ; I think the chancellor said four or five years. The bishop said, discharge them, discharge them ; and ordered them to be discharged without paying any fees. After a little time I parted with the bishop and chancellor, and acknowledged their kindness. I went to friends in the city of Worcester, and told William Pardoe what success I had with the bishop, desired them to wait on the chancellor to get the order, that it might be sent speedily ; and in a little time I heard they were discharged.

Hitherto, Reader, thou hast had a short relation of some of the Labours and Services of our ancient and honourable friend RICHARD DAVIES, from his own account, which he finished a little before his decease; it remains, therefore, to give some account of his last years' travels, &c. together with the time and manner of his departure, &c.

IN the year 1702, he went to London, his daughter Tace Endon accompanying him, and staid in and about the city several weeks, visiting friends in their meetings, and had many good and comfortable opportunities among them. He, together with eleven friends more, were appointed by the yearly-meeting to go to the queen at Windsor, with an acknowledgment from friends for the continuation of their liberty, and protection under her government; at which time he in particular spoke to the queen. When he was clear of those parts, he returned homewards, and came through Worcester, where he went to visit his old friend bishop Lloyd, who was glad to see him. That was the last time they saw each other.

After his return home he often visited some neighbouring meetings, and was at the yearly-meeting of Wales the spring following.

About the latter end of the third month, 1704, he went up to London again to the yearly-meeting, his grandson David Endon attending him. He visited friends as he passed through Stourbridge, Banbury, Aylesbury, &c. and staid in and about the city for near two months, being somewhat weak and sickly. When he was clear of the city, he returned pretty directly home, and came well to his family.

In the begining of the year 1705, he met with some exercise; for on the 1st of the third month, his dear and honest wife died, who had been very tender and careful over him; and a woman very serviceable to friends and truth in many respects. She was a plain,

upright, and honest-hearted woman; one that loved truth in simplicity. She left a good report behind her, after they had lived together about forty-six years.

In the first month, 1706, he was at the yearly-meeting of Wales, Llanidlos, in Montgomeryshire, being the last yearly-meeting he was at in Wales. On the 15th of the second month following he took his journey with his grandson D. E. towards Bristol. He had a meeting at Leominster, and at Ross in Herefordshire, and thence went to Bristol, and lodged at Charles Harford's, jun. where he visited friends at their yearly-meeting, and staid about a week; and on the 30th of the second month, set forward towards London, and came to French-hay; and had a meeting there. The 1st of the third month he had a meeting at Sodbury in Gloucestershire; the 5th at Cirencester; the 8th at Oxford, being the first day of the week, where many of the scholars came in, and were rude for some time; but after our friend Richard Davies had spoke a while in the meeting, they became more sober; some of them sate down, and staid till the conclusion of the meeting; and friends took notice that the meeting was more quiet than usual. From thence he went to Henley, and had a meeting there; and so to Windsor, where he had a meeting; thence he went to London, and lodged at his friend and kinsman Thomas Lloyd's. He attended the yearly-meeting, and staid in and about the city, visiting friends at their meetings, until the 19th of the fourth month; at which time he returned homewards, and had a meeting the 21st at Chesham where William Bingley was; the 22d they had a meeting at Aylesbury and went thence to their yearly-meeting at Banbury, where were many friends from divers parts. The 28th he came to Worcester, William Bingley still accompanying him, where they had a meeting. The 30th he went to Droitwich, and had a meeting there. The 1st of the fifth month he had a meeting at Bromsgrove; the 2d at Birmingham, and lodged at John Pemberton's; the 4th he went to the quarterly-meeting at Wolver-

hampton, and passed thence to Stourbridge, and lodged at Ambrose Crowley's : and so upon the 9th of the fifth month, 1706, he returned safe home to his family at Cloddiecochion, near Welch-Pool, having been away near three months.

After this journey he continued mostly at home, in his usual health, and visited several neighbouring meetings. In the latter end of the eighth month, he was at the burial of an ancient woman friend, Anne Thomas, in Salop, and at several other burials near home ; at which times he often had very good service, and people would hear him gladly, for he had a solid and grave delivery, and was wise and sound in his matter, which was very taking with most people.

His last sickness was very short ; for on the sixth day of the week he was at Welch-Pool, and finding himself not well, went home, and the next day kept the house. On first-day following several friends went to see him from Dolobran meeting, and had a little opportunity to wait together upon the Lord with him. He spoke very little to any ; and his pain continuing upon him, the next day, being the 22d of the first month, 1707-8, about the ninth hour in the morning, he quietly departed this life, being in the seventy-third year of his age.

The 25th being the day appointed for his burial, many friends from divers parts, and other people, met at his house at Cloddiecochion, and his body was borne by them to the grave yard, near his own house, and there decently interred near his wife's grave. In the grave-yard there was held a solemn meeting, and several testimonies were borne, in the power and life of truth, to the general satisfaction of the people.

THE END.

